HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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NEWSPAPER

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Adequate Reconnaissance Lacking

Seven New Weapons Sites Threaten Guantanamo

From the Allen-Scott Report

Russia is building seven mysterious underground weapons sites near the heavily fortified U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay.

The sites, suspected of being launching bases for new-type Soviet ground-to-ground rockets, are within three miles of this country's stronghold on the Communist-ruled island.

Latest information gathered by U.S. intelligence sources within Cuba indicates the underground "missile" sites range in size from 70 to 100 feet in length, 20 to 35 feet in width, and from 15 to 75 feet in depth.

Construction work, which involves the pouring of large quantities of cement, was started about three months ago and is continuing at an accelerated pace since the first of the year.

U.S. efforts to photograph the sites have been only partially successful because of the limitations put on reconnaissance operations over Cuba.

Reconnaissance planes flying off the coast of Cuba are photographing the construction work at regular intervals, but none of the pictures show the deep side of the sites because of the angle at which they must be taken.

The photographs, now being carefully studied at the Pentagon, reveal that in all instances the side of the site closest to the Guantanamo base is the deepest part of the underground "missile" base.

Significantly, the far side of the site contains several man-made shelves in step-like formation from the bottom to the top of the "big hole," as the sites are being called in backstage intelligence briefings. These "steps" are being covered with a heavy layer of cement.

In warnings similar to those given in advance of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, intelligence experts are telling superiors that the sites are being constructed so that several missiles or heavy mortars can be installed and fired from each of them.

Cuban refugees, whose information is largely being ignored by high-level U.S. authorities, are frankly saying that Russian and Cuban technicians are working on the sites, and that they are part of a network of military installations that Castro is building to neutralize the powerful U.S. naval base.

These refugee "informants" contend that once the sites are completed and the missiles operational, Castro intends to issue an ultimatum to the United States to withdraw from Guantanamo or its forces there will be destroyed.

If this warning is accurate, as many of the refugees' past reports have been, the United States could by next fall face a missile crisis as sinister as that which rocked the world in 1962 during the Kennedy Administration.

U.S. officials so far have done little about these mysterious installations, other than trying to figure out what the Russians and Cubans may have up their sleeves.

No high-level or low-level flights directly over these targets have been ordered because of White House policy not to "rock the boat" in Cuban waters while the Cuban refugee airlift program is under way.

This intelligence gap could be as damaging to this country's security as the CIA's failure to overfly Cuba in July-August 1962, when eight Soviet bloc ships arrived with electronic, radar and construction equipment for IRBM sites.

The strategic U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, is being ringed with Soviet offensive weapons in a move to force the United States out of the area.

A Russian ship added to the site mystery recently when it tried to steam through Guantanamo Bay without accepting a U.S. pilot. When a U.S. destroyer challenged the Soviet ship by crossing its bow, the Russian skipper backed down and two U.S. naval tugs then escorted the Red vessel back to the open ocean.

This Russian vessel, which had the capability of carrying missiles or large mortars, later discharged its cargo at another Cuban port rather than accept a U.S. pilot—a requirement for all ships en route to two Cuban ports that can be reached only through Guantanamo Bay.

Since no U-2 reconnaissance flights are being made directly over Cuba except when ordered by the White House, no photographs were made of the cargo unloaded from this Russian ship.

"Unless the United States immediately resumes regular U-2 flights over Cuba," one intelligence expert warns, "President Johnson is going to wake up some morning faced with the same kind of missile crisis that confronted President Kennedy. The big difference will be that while Kennedy caught the Russians before they could get their missiles operational, Johnson won't be so lucky. He will find them pointing at the White House and their triggers cocked."

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Exclusive

The Radical Background Of Staughton Lynd

A young man who has recently broken with the Progressive Labor party shows why "Assistant Professor of History at Yale" is far from an adequate description of this leader of the "peace movement."

Page 8

More Federal Tests

School Meddlers Active Again

Page 7

Sylvester Tries New Cover-Up

Page 13

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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CONTENTS

Gavin's Strategy Anticipates Surrender in South Viet Nam—By Gen. Thomas A. Lane 2
Officials Squirm as Money Squeeze Gets Tighter—By Henry J. Taylor 3
Construction Unions Want Bill Permitting Secondary Boycotts—From the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star 3
N. J. Crane Operators to Get $7.75 an Hour—By Victor Riesel 6
Is the Honeymoon Over?—By Walter Trohan 7
The Federal School Meddlers Are at It Again—From the Chicago Tribune 7
Capturing Youth—From the San Diego Union 7
The Radical Background of Staughton Lynd—By Phillip Abbott Luce 8
Is There Any Legal Basis for Our Big Federal Government?—By Dick West in the Dallas Morning News 8
And This Is History?—By Alice Widener 10
Gresham's Law Appears to be Winning Again—From the Cincinatti Enquirer 10
Revealing Testimony About IRS Activities—By Barry Goldwater 10
Clergymen Seek Anti-Viet Funds—By Fulton Lewis Jr. 12
A $50-Million Poverty Acorn—From the Richmond News-Leader 12
Sylvester Tries to Deny Reports of Shipping Blunders in Viet Nam—By Victor Riesel 13
Is Race the Issue in Rhodesia?—By Ralph de Toledano 14
Congressmen Charge Job Corps Permits Law of Jungle to Prevail 14
Spotlight on Congress 15

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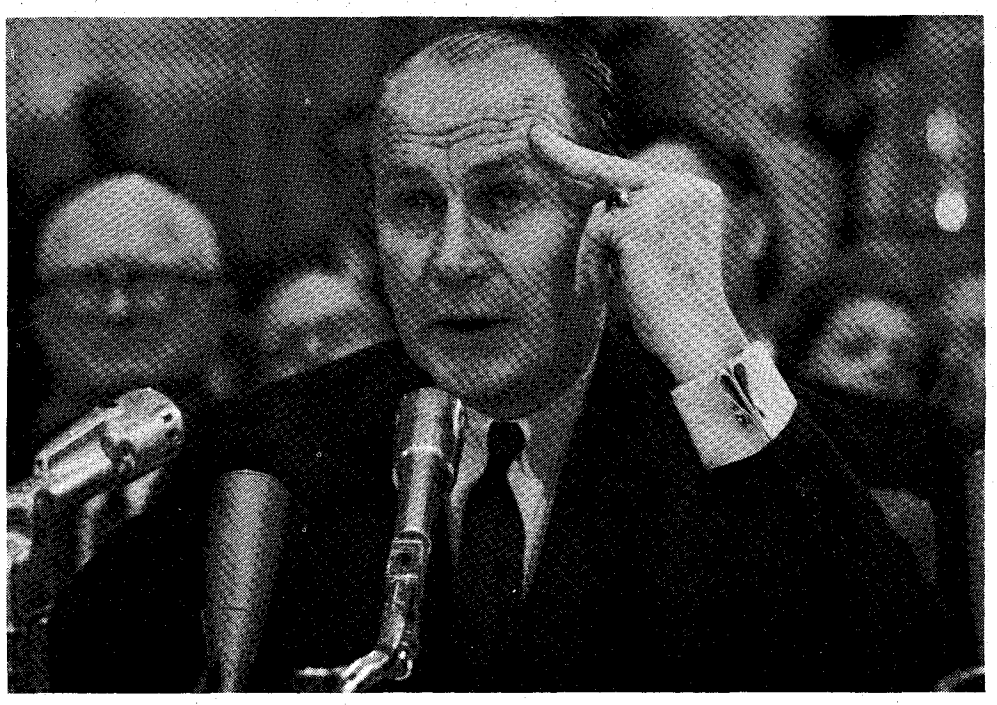

Lt. Gen. James Gavin (USA, Ret.) testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week, when he said that Southeast Asia would be the wrong place to fight Red China.

Gavin's Strategy Anticipates Surrender in South Viet Nam

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

Lt. Gen. James N. Gavin is currently chairman of the board of Arthur D. Little, Inc., a consulting firm which enjoys an extensive and lucrative practice with the U.S. government. His recent comment upon the war in Viet Nam has received widespread public notice.

Gen. Gavin proposes that the United States should withdraw to a defense of its present base perimeters and then sue for peace. He argues that it would require an excessive investment of U.S. power and resources to defend all of South Viet Nam, that large-scale operations would invite war with Communist China, and that a war with Communist China should be fought in industrial Manchuria, not in Southeast Asia.

Gen. Gavin's prescription is for surrender. If we leave to the Viet Cong all of South Viet Nam except our coastal enclaves, there will be nothing to negotiate but our withdrawal.

If the United States cannot defend little South Viet Nam from Communist conquest, how can it defend Europe, which is on the Soviet doorstep? Should that be the war we were in, would this philosophy make it expedient to fight a "different war, at another time, in another place"?

There is no obstacle in the jungle nor in the people to impede the pacification of South Viet Nam. The obstacle instead is in Washington, where the security of Southeast Asia and of our fighting forces is forfeit to basic strategic error. Gen. Gavin would compound the error, not correct it.

It is timely to recall that when the U.N. forces in Korea were attacked by Communist Chinese armies launched from Manchuria, and President Truman decided not to exercise our rights of self-defense by destroying their Manchurian lines of communication and bases, Gen. Omar Bradley, then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said that war in Manchuria would be the wrong war at the wrong time in the wrong place.

It is an obvious aim of Soviet strategy, as it must be of all intelligent war strategy, to convince the enemy that he should not fight the war he is in. If he will withdraw and concede the victory to you, and if he will keep on doing this, decade after decade, there will be no end to the triumph of your arms.

History has confirmed the serious error of Gen. Bradley's judgment. It was precisely the American reluctance to strike back, voiced in Gen. Bradley's defense of President Truman, which precipitated the Chinese aggression. Without this assurance of the security of their Manchurian bases, the Chinese Communist leaders would not have dared to attack the U.N. forces in Korea.

The tragedy of Viet Nam is the tragedy of Korea repeated. It is the triumph of apprehension over reason, of self-deception over wisdom. In both countries, the only effective deterrent to Communist aggression was the capacity of the United States to visit devastating destruction on the aggressor.

In both wars, the United States responded with weakness which encouraged the aggression. We suppressed our rights of self-defense in Korea and South Viet Nam and allow the Communists sanctuary without which they would not wage their aggression.

Gen. Gavin, like Gen. Bradley in 1950, misjudges the weakness of the enemy and the strength of the United States. He is profoundly wrong in his assessment of the requirements of victory in South Viet Nam. He is inhibited by his own experience in conventional warfare, by the French defeat in Indochina which he observed closely as G-3 of the U.S. Army, and by his service as U.S. ambassador to France in the early stages of the U.S. build-up in South Viet Nam.

He has been persuaded by Soviet propaganda that now, as in 1950, we should not fight the war we are in.

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Dollar Continues Depreciating

Officials Squirm as Money Squeeze Gets Tighter

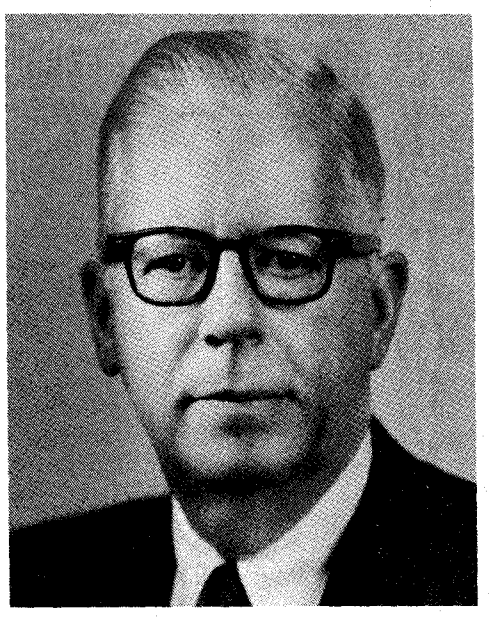
By HENRY J. TAYLOR

The "Great Society" has hit its February money squeeze—and we're all paying for it through the nose.

It is absolutely impossible to understand how the Washington Robin Hoods of the Red Ink can make us believe we are getting something for nothing.

Here's how the bill collector comes in the back door:

Although we may never see a tax bill, we pay it—every penny—and the poor people most of all. For government's mishandling of our own money



Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler must constantly find ways to refinance the national debt.

at home and abroad is the largest inflationary pressure affecting the cost of living.

This upsurge puts the bill collector on 24-hour duty and silently, oh, so silently, he's collecting faster from us all the time.

At first wages are better than prices. Then prices pass wages (and liquidate savings) and we have to run faster and faster just to stay where we are.

Through all the borrowing the politicians make themselves look good, like a man who gives his wife a fur coat. But she doesn't know he charged it to her. Then he does it over again, and again, and again.

"I love you," he says—whatever that means in his language.

So now comes February 1966.

The Kennedy-Johnson Administrations inherited a federal debt of $283 billion. It is officially expected to be $322 billion by July 1. And the political joker in this "public" debt is that we private citizens must pay it.

The Robin Hoods of the Red Ink have financed their deficits by constant new borrowings while we're paying nearly a billion dollars a month on the money already borrowed.

The vast debt's due dates are staggered and the Robin Hoods use several ways to refinance as each part comes due. But time has now caught up with them.

Today the average time of maturity is five years. Only a year ago this average was substantially longer. On the total $322 billion, more than $96 billion matures this year. And about $20 billion is dated for refinancing or payment by this month.

Thus the Robin Hoods have driven themselves more and more toward the need for "quick money" by adding to the mountain of short-term debt as they went merrily along at our expense.

A variety of complications result, chiefly from the increased New Frontier outpourings and the cost of the Viet Nam War.

The law permits a 4½ per cent ceiling on federal bonds that mature in more than five years. But bonds sold previously at this yield have fallen—to yield much more than that under the pressure of the overspending, general borrowings, the inflation and of interest rates.

For while the public's attention is on the stock market the government bond market has been sliding relentlessly down, down, down. The declines have put several treasury yields to levels not seen since the 1920s.

This even required an increase, recently announced, in the 3 3/4 rate on savings bonds because these are being cashed in faster than they're being bought. Here alone the Robin Hoods are dealing with $49 billion outstanding.

As the Robin Hoods continue to spend beyond the income and borrow more and more to pay the bills the dangers to us multiply, exactly as they do to the village soak who says, "Whiskey never hurt me."

The effect is to constantly dollar-depreciate the economy because the borrowings from banks create more and more credit, increase the money supply and whirl inflation throughout the economic system like a centrifugal pump. It cannot be stopped until the deficit financing (spending beyond income) is stopped.

This political abuse of our brains and pocketbooks is an old story, but the politicians blame it on everybody and everything but themselves. Some seem to operate like side-show king P. T. Barnum: "I never lost anything by underestimating the public's intelligence." Others may not know any better themselves. But, hey, either way, we lose.

Unless the public knows this and teaches the politicians in a nationwide roar that we're on to it, our dollar will go down the drain. And, God forbid, the public welfare and national security will go with it.

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$1,800 INSERTION—Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) recently squandered $1,800 of the taxpayers' money by inserting in the *Congressional Record* 450 letters and telegrams he had received applauding his opposition to American intervention in Viet Nam. Morse apparently did not read the telegrams carefully. One read: "You were one of America's great independent leaders. You have become a moral coward. Please support the President."

□ □ □

$50,000 SPEECH—Rep. Robert E. Sweeney (D.-Ohio) has used his franking privilege to mail to one million Ohio residents a speech he made on foreign policy. Cost to the taxpayers: $50,000. Sweeney, who has announced his candidacy for state attorney general, used the mass mailing to acquaint himself with voters throughout the Buckeye State.

Construction Unions Want Bill Permitting Secondary Boycotts

From the Rockford (Ill.) *Morning Star*

Evils of secondary boycotts would gain new force if a bill before the U.S. House of Representatives becomes law. The bill (HR 1041), heavily backed by organized labor, is designed to nullify a 1951 ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court barring picketing at a construction site against contractors or subcontractors with whom the striking union does not have a dispute.

The court decision upheld a 1949 ruling by the National Labor Relations Board in a case involving the Denver Building and Construction Trades Council. It is illegal, the court held, for a union to picket contractors and subcontractors on a construction site, other than the particular subcontractor with whom it is in dispute, in order to cause them to cease doing business with that subcontractor.

Picketing, it was held, may be carried on against a primary employer, but there can be no interference with the operations of "unoffending employers . . . in controversies not their own."

Picketing in violation of the conditions set forth in the ruling was classified as an illegal secondary boycott, in violation of a section of the Taft-Hartley Act.

For years the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO has fought this limitation on so-called common site picketing on grounds that it is unduly restrictive in the peculiar circumstances of the construction industry. The proposed bill would exempt construction jobs from Taft-Hartley Act provisions barring secondary boycotts.

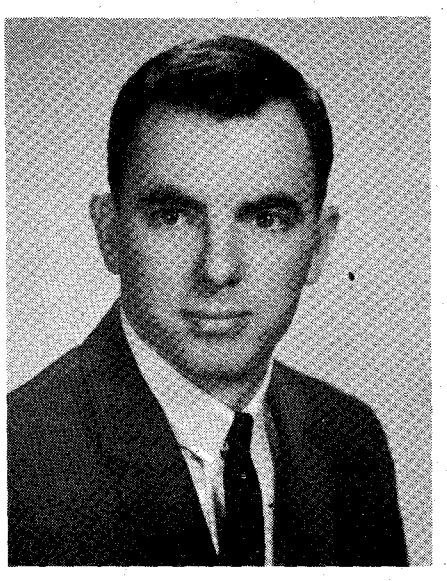
Opponents of the proposed bill make the valid point that it is "special interest" legislation that would tend to break down safeguards against secondary boycotts in many areas. The measure is unfair to employers, employes, union members and the public. A dispute between a union and a subcontractor could shut down a whole plant in which remodeling work was being done.

A basic and proper purpose of the secondary boycott section of the Taft-Hartley Act is to protect neutral employers and their employes from harassment by a union with which they have no dispute. Nothing in the section restricts the right of a union to engage in a primary strike against the primary employer with whom its dispute exists.

□ □ □

REP. PAUL FINO (R.-N.Y.) has announced his intention to introduce legislation to compel the Maritime Administration to deny the use of U.S. ports and marine facilities to ships which have carried goods into North Viet Nam. Fino, dean of the New York House Republican delegation, said the British are the worst offenders: "To squeeze the last pound, shilling and pence out of world trade, Britain is peddling the sinews of war that indirectly kill American, Australian and New Zealand troops in Viet Nam." (Fino's bill is HR 12525.)

LEADERSHIP TECHNIQUES COURSE NOW BEING CONDUCTED AT FLICK-REEDY



DEAN RICHARDS

Mr. Dean Richards has been engaged by Flick-Reedy Education Enterprises as director of its newest educational endeavor, "LEADERSHIP TECHNIQUES" course.

Mr. Richards brings with him a wealth of knowledge in the fields of organizational methods and teaching experience. On the staff of a New York professional fund raising firm eventually becoming the Pittsburgh manager, he raised over $1,000,000 for school and church drives nation-wide.

His most immediate former position was that of American Government and Speech instructor to seniors at Central High School, Toledo, Ohio. Mr. Richards' experience also includes over 1,000 Pro-American speeches, many of which were delivered over television and radio throughout the country.

He is a graduate of the University of Notre Dame and his practical teaching experience was gained at Toledo University and Michigan State.

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• Insiders report that LBJ put pressure on Nebraska Gov. Frank B. Morrison to run against long-time Republican incumbent Carl T. Curtis, whose Senate seat is up for grabs this year. Curtis, as Chicago *Tribune* reporter Willard Edwards pointed out last year, has been on LBJ's purge list, primarily, many think, because Curtis, along with Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.), took the lead in delving into the Baker scandals. Morrison has told acquaintances he has been promised a judgeship should he fail in his bid against Curtis.

CURTIS

• Human Events *readers should write their congressmen, urging them to oppose two new LBJ requests: funds to operate the Teacher Corps and the rent supplement program. Money for both these programs was voted down by narrow margins in the House last year. Under the Teacher Corps, the federal government will be able to select the teachers for local schools. While the rent-subsidy scheme has been changed so it would only go to low-income groups, many believe that once the federal foot is in the door the regulations will be changed to aid middle-income groups in the near future—just as those who proposed the measure last year intended. The rent subsidy scheme, moreover, is one of LBJ's weapons to put the cities under complete control of the federal government* (*see* Human Events, *page 4, February 5*).

• Our Man in Viet Nam: LBJ sent Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman travelling the length and breadth of South Viet Nam last week in order to teach the allegedly backward peasant there a thing or two about raising crops. Seems, however, the peasant may have lost some faith in Freeman as a knowledgeable farmer. Reported the New York *Times* (Feb. 14): "At a warehouse in Phanrang, for example, he picked up a handful of vegetables with red skins and exclaimed to a group of aides standing behind him, 'You sure can tell these are onions! Just smell!' 'That's garlic, Mr. Secretary,' someone replied."

FREEMAN

• *Socialist Michael Harrington, intellectual father of the "War on Poverty," has called for "unconventional" approaches to the anti-poverty drive. He suggests the United States introduce the two-day week to spread the work around and says the federal government should provide 14 years free schooling to all Americans.*

• LBJ is seriously considering raising individual taxes 5 per cent and corporation taxes 4 per cent if prices continue to soar. Inflation, it is clear, is already here, but just how far it will get out of hand is still uncertain. The index of wholesale prices, regarded by economists as the most accurate available measure of inflationary pressures, rose sharply in January for the third successive month. While the largest increases were in food prices, the prices of industrial commodities also moved higher over a broad range of products.

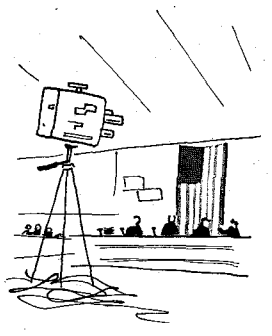
JOHNSON

• *Top AFL-CIO Latin American experts just returned from the Dominican Republic claim that the worst mistake we ever made was to refuse to polish off the rebels. They fear that rebel hero Juan Bosch, who threw his weight behind the recent general strike to force Dominican military leaders out of the country, will win in the upcoming elections. If not Bosch, someone of his stripe.*

This Week in Washington

LBJ's Viet Nam Critics

While the communications media were publicizing the Fulbright-Morse appeasement show in the Senate last week, equally, if not more, significant news was coming out of joint hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee and the subcommittee on defense appropriations. Overlooked by much of the press, they reveal a strong belief on the part of many senators that LBJ's Viet Nam policies, far from being too hard, are too soft; that the President must seriously step up the military side of the war if the United States intends to save Asia from communism.



What shocked many senators during the January and February hearings, in fact, was the revelation that the Administration has been pursuing such a soft strategy against the Reds that the Viet Cong have made significant gains over the past two years.

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara admitted to Sen. Milton Young (R.-N.D.) that Young was absolutely correct when he wondered if it was true that "we control less of the land area of South Viet Nam than we did two years ago."

Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, surprised the senators even further when he agreed with Young that the "VC control more [land] than they did a year ago."

Nor was this the only gloomy news told the lawmakers. McNamara revealed that 20,000 North Vietnamese have infiltrated into South Viet Nam during the past year; that the VC have control over our major supply lines in the south; that the Saigon government controls only about 25 per cent of the population; that the United States can seldom make a direct strike against the Soviet SAM missiles because they can inflict serious losses on our planes; and that over 170 planes have been knocked down by SAM missiles or anti-aircraft batteries.

Red Chinese combat troops, it was also disclosed, have entered into North Viet Nam and, consequently, can release North Vietnamese troops into the south.

Gen. Harold K. Johnson, chief of staff of the U.S. Army, also admitted that "we are fighting a war that is defensive in its strategy. . . ."

Defense Secretary McNamara confessed to our having "limited political objectives in South Viet Nam. They are not to destroy the North Vietnamese government, they do not involve application of military power to North Viet Nam for any purpose other than to reduce the capability of the North Vietnamese to support and direct the Viet Cong activities in the south." McNamara added, however, that he would not advocate a "military policy which might attack and seek to destroy the North Vietnamese military forces in North Viet Nam itself."

Senators from both sides of the aisle were highly critical of this timid strategy.

Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.) told McNamara: "We are fighting a strange war. Ordinarily we fight a war to go out and win . . . . I think there comes a time when we should try to win."

Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.) stormed at McNamara for ho-humming about allied shipping to Red China and claiming it wouldn't make much difference if this shipping stopped.

"Of course it would," Mundt retorted. "The psychological price would be far from zero . . . ." How, he implied, can we expect our allies to take us seriously about this war "when we ourselves don't take the steps required to stop our friends from supplying our enemies . . .?"

Sen. Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.) told Wheeler that the bomb pause had been a "failure."

Sen. Stuart Symington (D.-Mo.), a former secretary of the Air Force who had just returned from a trip to Southeast Asia, leveled the most heated blast at the Administration's policies to date.

"Our World War II experiences," Symington said, "clearly demonstrated that the quickest and cheapest way to rob an enemy of his weapons is to wreck his factories, blast his warehouses and supply dumps and block his harbors. It is much better to destroy weapons at the source than to have to meet them on the battlefield. Despite the clear lesson from the last war of the decisive results, we are now hearing again that bombing is ineffective."

Symington related that the Nazis tried to fool the Allies about bombings in the last war. "About a month after a particularly successful series of bombing raids against fighter factories, allied intelligence intercepted a message from Albert Speer, the Nazi munitions senior to Hitler, reporting that fighter production had increased considerably . . . .

"When the war was over and the German files were available, a message from Speer to Hitler was found which warned emphatically that unless the Luftwaffe could stop the bombing of the industrial complex Germany was doomed. His increased production figures had been clever propaganda designed to convince Allied leaders that bombing was ineffective and it almost succeeded."

Said Symington: "Our enemy is again attempting by propaganda—and some of it is very insidious and comes out in very important places—to induce us to stop the method of warfare which he fears the most. There are alarming evidences that he may be successful this time."

(Defense Secretary McNamara, in fact, actually bolstered Symington's argument about the effectiveness of bombing by inserting into the hearings a study of North Vietnamese and Viet Cong prisoners which revealed that bombing was the tactic they feared the most and which destroyed the morale of the Communist soldiers.)

"No one has ever explained to my satisfaction," Symington continued, "why it was urgent and appropriate to destroy Hitler's Nazis terribly with bombs . . . while another menace, Communist aggression, is now spared this effective treatment."

Symington was particularly critical of our bombing of North Viet Nam. Remarking that he had looked at the pictures of that bombing, he said he didn't think we had "done anything" to affect Hanoi's power. "We have done very little on petroleum. It is incredible that we don't do something about that harbor. [Haiphong—McNamara conceded the fact that vast quantities of oil and other vital war materiel came through Haiphong.]

"There is a consensus of opinion all over South Viet Nam today, in all the military forces, not just the Air Force, or Naval Air or Marine Air, everywhere and also in the civilian setup, that if we don't eliminate this target limitation, it isn't right to send these men out to risk their lives in an expensive airplane to bomb just an empty barracks or a bus. I feel this very strongly, Mr. Secretary, and would urgently recommend we take off the target limitations on these flyers we are now losing in fairly heavy quantities along with their planes. If we don't start serious bombing again in North Viet Nam, let's eliminate it."

Later Symington remarked, "I hope the Administration makes a decision to get on with the war or get out of it."

Gen. Maxwell Taylor supported, in part, the Symington line last week before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, but, so far, the Administration continues to play it cautious, even restricting the bombing missions to targets less important than those that were hit before the 37-day bomb pause which began last December.

IRS Hounds R-T-W Group

The Internal Revenue Service continues quietly moving against conservative tax-exempt organizations while giving left-wing groups a tax break. The IRS,

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for example, recently restored tax-exempt status to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a radical group campaigning against the war in Viet Nam (see page 12).

While it sees no harm in granting favors to this super-liberal organization, the IRS is now considering withdrawing the tax-exempt status of the National Right-to-Work Committee, a status it conferred on the committee through a special ruling only two years ago. Under that ruling, businessmen can, in some cases, deduct contributions to the committee as legitimate business expenses.

Reed Larson, the committee's executive director, said it was "peculiar" the IRS investigation was so thorough and was timed to come during the fight to repeal Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Rep. Frank Thompson Jr. (D.-N.J.), a labor union yes-man who introduced the repeal measure in the House, first asked for the IRS probe last summer in a letter to IRS Commissioner Sheldon S. Cohen. Thompson repeated his request in mid-October and Cohen replied that an inquiry was in progress.

Larson said the first visit from tax agents came after the Senate voted last fall against shutting off the anti-repeal filibuster. This investigation was resumed last week after the Senate again declined to end a similar filibuster.

Larson said the IRS was seeking "peculiar" information, such as a list of the other non-profit organizations in which any officer, employe or staff member of the Right-to-Work Committee is a member or holds office. For what reason? To discover other conservative groups to crack down on?

• Politicians who once felt that support of right-to-work meant committing political hari-kari have learned differently this year. Rep. Theodore Kupferman (R.), who two weeks ago nosed out Democrat Orin Lehman for John Lindsay's seat in Congress, is a thoroughgoing liberal and the near political twin of Lehman, but Kupferman made it a point to disagree with his opponent on one major issue during the race: right-to-work. Kupferman, in a letter to the New York *Herald Tribune* just before the election, said he favored retention of 14b and some pros are now suggesting that this put Kupferman over the top.

An Eastern Democratic congressman in a non-right-to-work state says he was threatened with primary opposition from the unions this year but the opposition vanished when the lawmaker told the unions he would make his stand in favor of 14b *the* issue in the primary.

The National Right-to-Work Committee predicts many lawmakers who voted for repeal will lose in the congressional elections this year.

Labor Leaders Rip Viet Policy

Maritime labor leaders have sharply criticized the Administration's new directive blacklisting ships transporting cargoes to North Viet Nam as "too weak" and "ineffective." The union chiefs have declared their members will begin protest on all United States waterfronts against any and all ships which carry on trade with the enemy.

The three top union presidents—Thomas W. Gleason, International Longshoremen's Association; Joseph Curran, the National Maritime Union; and Paul Hall, Seafarers International Union—have sent a wire to President Johnson and influential Cabinet members declaring the blacklist is just a "slap on the wrist which will in no way deter foreign ship owners or their governments and will not curtail the assistance which the North Vietnamese receive from them.

"We believe the time for pussyfooting is long past."

The blacklist program specifies that any free world or Polish-flag ships trading with North Viet Nam since January 25 will not be able to pick up United States government-financed cargoes at U.S. ports in the future.

Labor leaders and others, however, point out these restrictions will not block trade with Hanoi. To evade these regulations, all a shipowner has to do is carry out cargo from an American port in one ship and then transfer it to another for the trip to Hanoi.

Rep. Edward Garmatz (D.-Md.), chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, supports the longshoremen, describing the blacklist as "meaningless."

"It certainly seems, he continued, "that something should be done to stop the transshipment of goods at Hong Kong as well as to hit all of the ships of an owner—not permit him to use some in American trade and the rest in Communist trade."

Newcomb Mott

Evidence mounts that the "suicide" of Newcomb Mott was in fact cold-blooded murder. Mott is the 27-year-old American, convicted in the Soviet Union on trumped-up charges, who, the Kremlin maintains, killed himself while on the way to prison camp.

An autopsy performed in this country "casts grave doubts on the suicide theory the Soviets are trying to sell us," says lawyer Francis W.H. Adams, former New York police commissioner.

The autopsy was conducted by a noted Harvard pathologist, Dr. Michael A. Luongo, who is also chief medical examiner for Boston. It did not prove conclusively that Mott was murdered, but did show that Mott's wounds "were consistent with those that could be caused by another person," says Adams.

Adams, who has been retained by the dead man's family, states that the autopsy was greatly hampered by the Soviet government's failure to provide authentic information and details about the death. "The body was shipped back clothed in patently Soviet garments," he notes. "Where are the bloodstained clothes he was wearing when he died?"

Adams also claims that the "death instrument"—the razor with which Mott allegedly slit his throat—was not sent back. "Why did they fail to return it?" he asked.

Moreover, Adams says, all his efforts to get a reply to these and other questions from the Soviet Union have met with stony silence.

LBJ: 'One-Term' President?

Washington observers noted with interest a column last week by Associated Press writer Jack Bell in which he said some Democratic liberals are predicting President Johnson will not seek a second term in 1968. Such speculation rests primarily on the assumption Johnson will prefer to bask in the glory of his landslide 1964 victory and strong domestic leadership rather than risk what will probably be a much closer presidential race in 1968.

These Democratic liberals think the Viet Nam war will continue to plague the nation for several years. Johnson, they say, will face a Republican resurgence which will make impossible a repeat performance of his past legislative successes.

Highlighting much of this speculation is the fact that many liberals have become disenchanted with LBJ—more than one liberal has complained that he backed the President in 1964 just to avoid a "Goldwater foreign policy," especially in Viet Nam. Labor, too, is not happy with Johnson's lackadaisical support of repeal of Section 14b.

While some observers understandably shrug off the Bell story as idle "thumb-sucking," others think he has a point. Indeed, some Democrats are fearful of the similarities between the present and 1952, when the threat of inflation and a drawn-out, no-win war contributed mightily to the Eisenhower landslide.

These factors are already giving Republicans cause for joy at the prospects of picking up anywhere between 30 and 50 congressional seats this fall. Any gain over 40 seats would just about kill the "Great Society." LBJ's domestic "successes" to date stem from his having a pliant Congress; should he have to contend with a hostile group on Capitol Hill after this year, a good part of the liberal-labor bloc will sit on its hands in November 1968.

Hence the thought that LBJ may yet prefer the Pedernales to the Potomac.

• *Private polls disclose New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller to be in serious political trouble. The polls indicate that almost any Democrat could defeat Rocky, who is up for re-election in the fall.*

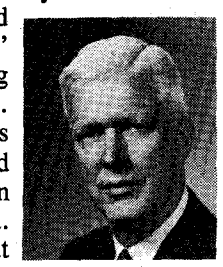
CAPITOL CAMERA

• No Surprise Department: Sen. Thomas Kuchel (R.-Calif.) has openly endorsed former San Francisco Mayor George Christopher for the GOP gubernatorial nomination. Kuchel re-honed a smear he used against Goldwater in 1964, tossing it at conservative GOP candidate Ronald Reagan. Kuchel said, "I understand what Mr. Christopher is for and what he is against; I can't say the same thing for Mr. Reagan." California's senior senator apparently forgot the "eleventh commandment" adopted by 1,000 GOP leaders at the GOP State Central Committee last September which called upon all Republicans not to speak ill of any other Republican.

KUCHEL

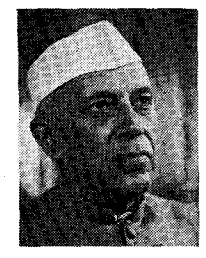
• *Defense Secretary McNamara has stunned lawmakers with a statement in the Senate hearings on supplemental military authorizations and defense appropriations for fiscal 1966. He says, in regard to the helicopter cut-back in 1965, "it was I who made the mistake."*

• Gen. Thomas Lane (Ret.) told the House last week there can be no victory in Viet Nam until American forces are freed from the "crippling rule" which prevents their carrying the war to the north. Gen. Lane, whose column appears in *Human Events*, testified before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asia. He told the subcommittee that "South Viet Nam has a right under international law to attack and destroy aggressor forces and bases in Laos, Cambodia and North Viet Nam, but the United States has prohibited the exercise of this lawful right of self-defense."


LANE

• *Federal budgetary expenditures have now reached an annual rate in which it will take less than a decade to spend $1 trillion, according to Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.). Columnist Sylvia Porter provides some comparisons on this almost unbelievable figure of $1,000,000,000,000. She notes: "If you laid one trillion $1 bills end to end the string would stretch 97 million miles—the distance of more than 200 round trips to the moon. If you patched $1 bills together in a single sheet, this sheet of money would cover the states of Rhode Island and Delaware and you'd have a few billion left over. If you had $1 trillion, you could buy every American family a $20,000 home."*

• The Johnson Administration has promised several million tons of grain to Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. But here is what her late father, Prime Minister Jawarhalal Nehru, said in 1949: "I think the ease with which we have been able to get foodstuffs from abroad has prevented us from facing the problem properly. I think we should think in terms of not getting any food at all from abroad after a certain period—let us put it at two years, I should not add a day more—and just make up our minds that we shall live on the food that we produce after two years or die in the attempt."


NEHRU

• *Sex in the Job Corps: The latest issue of* The Corpsman, *published for young men and women in the Job Corps, contains an allegedly humorous cartoon of a buxom nurse reprimanding a Corpsman: "I said take off your shirt, wise guy. . . not all of your clothes."*

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Union Local Ignores All Protests

N.J. Crane Operators to Get $7.75 an Hour

By VICTOR RIESEL

My editorial girl laughed when I sat down at the typewriter to compose this piece.

"Are you certain they don't hire female crane operators?" she asked unshyly. "I sure went to the wrong college."

What intrigued her was the new wage scale—the world's highest for "manual" labor—won recently by the traditionally powerful, sometimes famous, sometimes infamous Operating Engineers Local 825. The union's new pact with the big construction contractors—builders of bridges, roads, dams, etc.—calls for a $7.75 hourly rate straight cash payment.

There frequently is overtime, sometimes double time. So the pay scale after July 1, 1967, could run to $15.50 an hour when the contractor is under pressure.

And there is frequent pressure. New Jersey construction companies signed "liquidated damages" contracts with the state. This means that both sides agree on definite cash penalties for each day the job runs past the agreed completion date. And there are no mitigating excuses—not even delays because of strikes.

But the $7.75-an-hour rate for operators of all types of cranes is but part of the wage cost. There also is about a dollar an hour in fringes. Thus it soon will cost $8.85 an hour to employ these builders of our society. This has provoked considerable hysteria among contractors who put up buildings. They've now notified everybody in the land except U Thant.

Their message is clear. The operating engineers now are winning 15 to 20 per cent wage increases. The highest wage hoists up the lower wage rates of $4 to $6 an hour (plus fringes). Up, too, rockets the cost of construction of public buildings, such as schools, hospitals, housing for the young, housing for the aged and offices for those second-class citizens, the public.

And this is just the beginning. During 1966 in more than 100 major construction areas across the land, negotiations are scheduled between contractors and construction unions. Soon the $7.75-an-hour rate—$310 for a 40-hour week—will prevail.

In the beginning there always is Local 825, led by the stalwart (some say muscled) Peter Weber. He is the $39,000-a-year (salary and expenses) president and business manager of this controversial local union, which is a barony in itself. But it is not an island unto itself, because other Operating Engineer locals, such as one in the Chicago area, which has just won a $52-a-week-per-man package increase, follow Mr. Weber's lead.

So the nation's contractors are closely following the adventures of their New Jersey colleagues with Local 825. The Jersey builders have rushed to the White House, and to the presidential economic advisers, and to the international president of the Operating Engineers and to all those who champion a 3.2 per cent average increase set by the presidential guide lines on wage hikes.

They have charged the operating engineers with featherbedding, make-work practices and button pushing. They protest bitterly that Mr. Weber moves in on the jurisdiction of other crafts.

They say his local insists on having highly paid men stand by automatic equipment, handled by others, merely to press a button to start and stop the conveyors or cement vibrators. And that the union insists on standby to standby just in case the mechanism breaks down—though, if it does, there generally is a substitute machine.

Furthermore, the contractors say the engineers demand, and get, a lead operating engineer whenever the company hires five or more operating engineers. Lead engineers are supposed to be around just in case someone needs their guidance. Because they are theoretically on call 24 hours a day, some of them are paid as much as $25,000 to $30,000 annually, say the contractors.

So it is nice to know that the advanced proletariat earns a good living. But the contractors want the world to know that the cost of construction is racing the space people into the stratosphere. Mr. Weber and his union colleagues set the wage rates.

And no one can shake him—not the union's national leader, not the contractors who are warning they won't pay, not the White House. Not anybody.

Not the public either, which wonders why there are not more new schools and then pay higher taxes so more schools can be built by $7.75-an-hour Brahmins of labor.

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THEODORE SORENSEN, former White House aide to President Kennedy, says the "time is going to come when it will be in the self-interest of the United States to admit Red China to the United Nations." Sorensen said it has been a great mistake to oppose Communist China's entrance into the world body.

□ □ □

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR. has termed this country's involvement in Viet Nam a "tragedy" and denied the United States has any responsibility to the people of that beleagured nation. "Clearly," he said, "there is no specific national interest of the United States in Viet Nam." He disputed the necessity of bombing raids against North Viet Nam and called for a negotiated settlement to the conflict.

Committee Members Skeptical

Powell Suddenly Revives Poverty Probe

From the Allen-Scott Report

The House Labor Committee's long-moribund investigation of the $1.5-billion anti-poverty program apparently is being reactivated—with Chicago the first target.

This is a sudden about-face for Chairman Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.). Only a few weeks ago, just as abruptly, he called off the long-lagging probe and ordered the sizable staff of investigators to submit "final" reports [see *Human Events*, Jan. 1, 1966, page 9]. Powell launched the inquiry last fall with much fanfare, after inducing the House to vote $230,000 for it.

Now he is telling his committee he has ordered six staff investigators to dig into Chicago's $21-million anti-poverty program—in which Mayor Richard Daley has a big and controversial voice. It is also being hinted other cities may be scrutinized. But there is no indication which ones and when.

Republicans are claiming credit for the sudden reactivation of the investigation. They have long been critical of its do-nothingness.

"Our criticism must have finally bestirred the chairman," says Rep. Charles Goodell (N.Y.), a ranking Republican committeeman. Noting Powell's abrupt cancellation of the investigation last month, after a "superficial" examination of some 33 areas and spending the bulk of the $230,000 appropriation, Goodell charged the inquiry had been a "farce."

In the opinion of some committeemen, Powell's latest maneuver is primarily a stratagem to seek another appropriation. Committee insiders say that less than $20,000 remains of the original $230,000.

Where and how the rest was spent awaits accounting. Committee members don't know. House rules require that investigating committees file monthly reports on outlays and activities to the Administration Committee. Also, that every member of the latter committee get a copy of these monthly reports.

But Rep. Goodell, a member of both the Administration and Labor Committees, has seen none. And neither has anyone else. Powell has yet to file a single report.

When Powell launched this investigation last fall, he set up a subcommittee to conduct it. Rep. Sam Gibbons (D.-Fla.), a junior member of the Labor Committee, was hand-picked as chairman. He claimed public hearings would get under way when Congress reconvened early in January.

But nothing happened—except Powell's sudden announcement that the inquiry was being dropped. This was as much news to Gibbons as to everyone else.

Now, again ignoring Gibbons, Powell has revived the probe and named another subcommittee to make it. It remains to be seen how far it gets—other than perhaps providing Powell the basis for trying to wangle more money.

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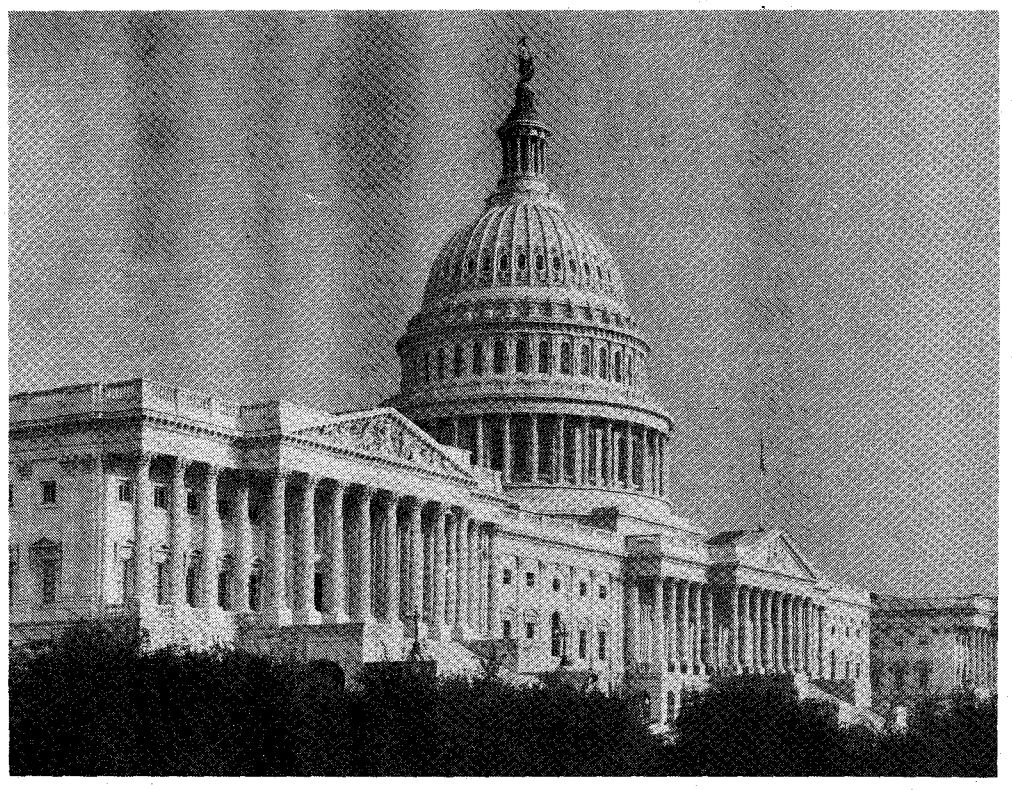

Is the Honeymoon Over?

There is mounting evidence LBJ will have trouble getting his program through this session of Congress.

By WALTER TROHAN

The 89th Congress, which President Johnson described as "the fabulous 89th," may yet come to be known by him as "the fractured 89th," because it is showing resistance to his arm twisting and his wheeling and dealing.

There is mounting evidence that the honeymoon is over, but more significant is the strong undercurrent of distrust and suspicion of the chief executive. The 89th Congress has opened its second session on notes of strong opposition to presidential foreign and domestic policies.

In the Senate the President is in sharp disagreement with many members of his own party not only on the conduct but also on the nature of the war in Viet Nam. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been conducting hearings on the struggle, which have featured military and diplomatic experts who do not agree with the President and his top advisers.

Not since Woodrow Wilson's plan to join the League of Nations has a President met such stout opposition from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In Wilson's time the opposition was partly political because the committee in those days was headed by Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge (R.-Mass.), the grandfather of the former Republican vice presidential candidate who has served the Johnson-Kennedy Administrations as ambassador to South Viet Nam.

No other Democratic President has met so much opposition from Democrats in the committee, and in the Senate generally, as has Mr. Johnson. For almost 30 years the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been a rubber stamp for approving Democratic administration policy, even to such fiascoes as the Yalta conference and the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion, but recently the group has undertaken to declare its independence of the White House.

On the domestic scene, Congress appears to have ended its honeymoon with the White House. The Senate thwarted Mr. Johnson's proposed repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley law which permits states to enact laws under which men have a right to work without joining a union.

Of course, Mr. Johnson may not have wanted repeal as much as he professed, since he voted for the act, including the right-to-work section, when he was in the Senate. Some believe that the President went through the motions of favoring repeal to satisfy organized labor.

Last week the Senate and the House passed a $350-million GI bill, extending education and other benefits to veterans, including those fighting in Viet Nam. The vote in both branches of Congress was unanimous, although the President didn't want the legislation.

The President's offer of a carrot to Congress in a four-year term for members of the House is in trouble. As much as some members may want it, they fear voter wrath. More and more members are speaking against the scheme.

Meanwhile, the President's stick isn't working as it did a year ago. There is growing opposition to presidential cuts on such programs as milk for student lunches, school aid and aid to higher education. There is increasing talk of cuts in "Great Society" programs while the war is building up in Viet Nam.

The President's trigger temper, already filed to a hair state, is expected to set off verbal fireworks as the session deepens. He faces more reversals.

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Capturing Youth

From the San Diego *Union*

A news story relates how $1,000 was collected on the Berkeley campus of the University of California to send to the Viet Cong to provide medical supplies "for the victims of U.S. aggression."

Another story relates how a high school student leader protested the appearance of a speaker on Americanism whom he accused of being conservative and not meeting "standards of impartiality or objectivity."

Is patriotism a matter of "impartiality"? To be impartial is to say you are neither for nor against patriotism. Does "objectivity" demand that you not take sides on the accepted meanings of the U.S. Constitution? Is the Constitution merely a controversial document?

Not so long ago an educator was resisting teaching about the evils of communism on the argument that high school students, no matter their immaturity, should be allowed to judge for themselves the ethics and values of a thousand years of Western civilization.

This is insidious stuff. Young people are being separated from accepted standards of beliefs and morals and summoned by the pied pipers of change to radicalism, atheism and immorality.

Citizens who speak out against this drift often are denied halls or ridiculed as "extremists" or something equally as bad in the radical lexicon of insults.

But some choose to fight it out. The Rev. Robert B. Watts, a lawyer and business executive turned Episcopal clergyman, in addressing the La Jolla Chapter of the Military Order of World Wars, warned that universities and colleges, many of them operated on tax funds, are increasingly becoming the battlegrounds for the minds of our young people and the protected havens of teachers who constantly spread the poison of anti-Americanism.

Some ministers and teachers even now, he said, proclaim that "God is dead."

"We hear other refrains," he said, "again professors and all too often ministers, trumpeting the 'new morality' which they expound to our students both at college and high school levels.

"This fantastic philosophy is simply the junking of all moral and religious codes in favor of unbridled license."

To him that sort of direct assault on decency and devotion, aimed against our youth, is just as deadly as having an enemy introduce plague germs in a fortification's water supply.

But the land remains strangely, and generally, undisturbed.

What will it take to awaken the country to obvious dangers? That time may come when enough of our young people refuse arms to defend their country, because they will have no values to defend.

More Student Questionnaires

The Federal School Meddlers Are at It Again

From the Chicago *Tribune*

The latest meddling by the federal government in local school systems is in the form of questionnaires sent to 12,000 elementary and high school principals in 357 communities throughout the country. A letter accompanying the questionnaires was signed by A. Ross Eckler, director of the Bureau of the Census. The letter said the bureau is conducting a survey for the federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

"The data which you provide," said the letter, "will be used in planning for the future educational needs of young people."

The American Association of School Administrations protested against the form of the questionnaires and the way they were sent to principals without the knowledge of the school superintendents or boards of education. In Chicago, School Sup. Benjamin Willis instructed principals not to answer the questionnaires but to collect them and send them to his office.

The objection of the school administrators' association to this method of snooping by the federal bureaucrats is well taken. The association also should object to the questionnaires on the ground that they are unscientific and could be rigged to support any theory which the bureaucrats wished to advance.

The letter accompanying the questionnaires says:

"We recognize that it may be difficult to provide exact answers to all of the questions. For such cases, please give us your best estimate."

The questionnaire itself has a place to indicate whether answers are very accurate, reasonably accurate, or "rough estimate." How could the results of such a survey be of the slightest usefulness in planning "future educational needs"?

The questionnaire asked each principal to estimate the percentage of his pupils who are Negro, Mexican-American or Puerto Rican, Protestant, Catholic or Jewish. What business is it of the federal government to inquire into the religious beliefs of school children?

A second questionnaire sent to each principal was entitled "pupil questionnaire." It asked for detailed information about pupils whose names were on the questionnaires. The questions included the pupils' scores in scholastic aptitude or intelligence tests and asked the principals to rate each pupil "in terms of his degree of cooperation with teachers" and "in terms of his degree of effort to do well in his school work."

It is shocking to discover the federal government making a survey based on the records of pupils whom the government has selected. With such a procedure the bureaucrats could select pupils so that answers to questionnaires would prove anything the bureaucrats wished to prove.

The purpose of the survey was to gather information for a report to President Johnson on the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The same method could be used, of course, in other kinds of studies for the purpose of influencing Congress or for finding excuses to withhold federal funds.

When Congress approved the appropriations for federal aid to elementary and secondary schools, assurances were given that local communities would not lose control over educational policy. The worthlessness of these assurances is becoming plainer every day.

WRITERS

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The Radical Background of Staughton Lynd

By PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

"The natives at home are restless too." These are the words of Staughton Lynd, one of the oldest yet most important leaders of the American "New Left." When Staughton Lynd spoke of the "natives" in this country he was specifically referring to the demonstrators opposing the war in Viet Nam.

Addressing an audience at the University of California, Lynd advocated "the creation of civil disobedience so persistent and so massive that the Tuesday lunch club which runs this country—Johnson, Rusk, McNamara, Bundy—will forthwith resign."

Lynd's opposition to American involvement in Viet Nam—and his notoriety—recently peaked when he accepted an invitation to tour North Viet Nam as a guest of the Communist government.

A 36-year-old assistant history professor at Yale, Staughton Lynd is the son of Robert and Helen Lynd who wrote the sociological study *Middletown*. Both have solid records of "fellow-traveling" with the Communists. Although this fact obviously cannot be blamed on their son, it does show the sort of atmosphere in which he was reared.

Helen Lynd is presently associated with the Philosophy Department of Sarah Lawrence College but in the past she has been associated with the following fronts: the American League for Peace and Democracy, the League of American Writers, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the World Peace Appeal, the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born and a number of other organizations.

All of these groups have been cited either by the U.S. attorney general or the Subversive Activities Control Board as Communist organizations.

Staughton Lynd's father, Robert Lynd, is presently with the Sociology Department of Columbia University. His "front" record includes association with the American Committee for Friendship with the Soviet Union, the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, the American-Russian Institute, the Council for Pan-American Democracy, the League of American Writers, the National Council of American Soviet Friendship, the World Peace Appeal and others. As in the case of Helen Lynd, all of these organizations have been cited by the U.S. attorney general and/or the Subversive Activities Control Board as being Communist "fronts."

The Lynds sent their son to the Ethical Culture School in New York City and then to the Fieldston School in the Bronx. Later, Staughton Lynd moved to Harvard where he joined the Communist party's John Reed Clubs and later switched to membership in the Socialist Workers party, the American Trotskyist group. Upon graduation from Harvard he transferred to the University of Chicago, where he began work towards a Ph.D.

By 1953 Lynd had proclaimed himself a "pacifist." He was classified by his draft board as a "conscientious objector" and later was drafted as a non-combatant. One year later the army gave him an undesirable discharge because of his past political connections.

Lynd, along with 10 others, fought his discharge through the Supreme Court and finally was accorded an honorable discharge. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—a cited Communist front—represented some of the defendants before the courts.

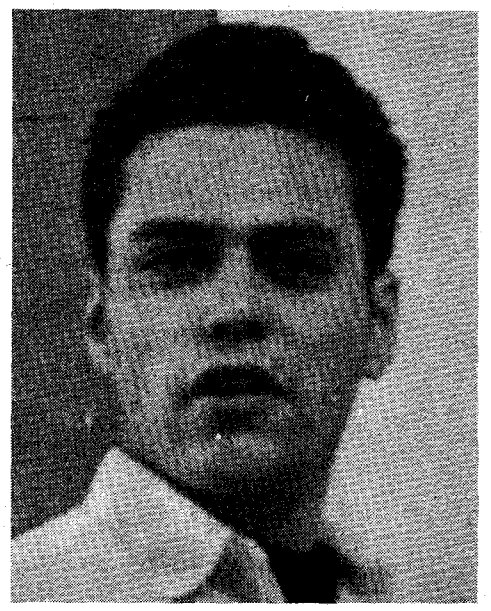
Once out of the army Lynd and his wife moved to a communist-type cooperative farm in Georgia where they lived until 1957. They then moved to another cooperative in Glen Gardner, N.J., where Lynd met Dave Dellinger, the editor of the radical pacifist magazine *Liberation*. Dellinger convinced Lynd to join him on the editorial board.

Lynd only stayed in New Jersey for a few months before moving to New York City where he worked on the Lower East Side organizing rent strikes and tenant councils. In the summer of 1959 he enrolled at Columbia University where he finished up his Ph.D. work in history. From 1961 to 1964 he taught history at Spelman College, a Negro women's school in Atlanta.

When Staughton Lynd was teaching in Georgia he became acquainted with the pro-Chinese Progressive Labor group.

During this time Jake Rosen, one of the young leaders of Progressive Labor and a former member of the American CP before he was expelled for advocating a "Chinese position," was also living in Georgia. But while Lynd was teaching, Rosen was involved in an experimental "underground" operation to determine the ease with which various Communists could change their names and identity and simply be absorbed into the community.

Living under the name John Harnett, Rosen attempted to develop a small



Progressive Labor party member Jake Rosen (above) worked with Lynd in Georgia.

Progressive Labor base in Georgia. After a period of time Rosen readopted his given name and began to edit *Freedom*, a PL newspaper for Southern consumption.

Freedom was orginally started by Rosen in Monroe, N.C., where it was aimed at the close followers of Robert Williams. The newspaper closely echoed the call for violence espoused by Williams prior to his flight to Cuba to avoid prosecution on a kidnapping charge.

When the operation moved to Atlanta the newspaper began to incorporate the views of Max Stanford, the leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement. Stanford has often called for the violent overthrow of the "white government" in this country.

Rosen and Lynd got together with the idea of creating a board of editors for *Freedom* that would be broader than the membership of Progressive Labor. According to Rosen, Lynd agreed to join the editorial board but before his name appeared on the masthead of *Freedom* the Progressive Labor group decided to cancel the paper and bring Jake Rosen back to New York where he was to begin coordinating various "underground" activities of PL.

Staughton Lynd, however, did write for *Freedom* and is presently on the editorial board of *Studies on the Left*, *Liberation* and the new anti-Viet Nam war publication, *Viet-Report*.

Lynd gained national reputation at the end of last summer when he led a demonstration in Washington misnamed "the Assembly of Unrepresented People." While marching on the Capitol he was hit with a can of red paint and his picture appeared throughout the country.

Prior to this demonstration, however, a controversy had evolved surrounding Lynd's support for any demonstration against the war in Viet Nam, even if Communists were an integral part of the leadership. Writing in *Liberation*, Lynd fumed that Bayard Rustin, a well-known radical in his own right, was a "labor lieutenant of capitalism" because Rustin refused to countenance a demonstration in which a number of Communist-controlled organizations (Du-Bois Clubs, May Second Movement, Youth Against War and Fascism) were in a leadership position. Even the New York *Post* editorialized against the "united-front" approach of Lynd and those who argued that the Communists should necessarily be included in demonstrations against the war effort.

In a stinging rebuke to Lynd, David McReynolds wrote in *Liberation*: "What Lynd has done in his article makes him sound like a member of the Old Left—as if he had just emerged from a CP meeting in the 1930s with the news that social democrats were the true class enemy, that they were in fact, 'social Fascists.'"

This controversy only served to thrust Lynd further to the political "left" and made him a spokesman for the young Communists and the other New Left activists. Irving Howe once described the activists around Lynd and company as "pop-art guerrillas" and it is not surprising that the wilder Lynd became the more he was honored by the Vietniks.

Not long before he left for North Viet Nam Lynd made a speech in Toronto, Canada, in which he noted in passing that United States action in Viet Nam "borders on that which, in classical theory, justifies revolution." He went on to outline a program for young Americans to thwart the war effort.

Mr. Luce was formerly a leader of the New Left and the young Communists prior to his break with the Progressive Labor party in January 1965. He helped lead a "student" trip to Cuba in the summer of 1963 and helped organize another one in 1964. Since his break with the Communists he has cooperated with various governmental agencies and was a prosecution witness in the trial of three of the organizers of the 1963 Cuban trip. He has written a book for the David McKay Co., entitled The New Left, *which will be published in April.*

After Staughton Lynd went to Hanoi in defiance of U.S. regulations with Herbert Aptheker (left) and SDS founder Tom Hayden (second from left), he joined with A.J. Muste, chairman of the Committee for Non-Violent Action, at a New York rally denouncing U.S. Viet Nam policy.

Is There

If you had a stack of $1,000 bills in front of you four inches high, you'd be a millionaire. That stack would have to be 18 miles high to pay off the national debt.

A Fort Worth customer who read this mathematical calculation—I believe actor Ronald Reagan first used it in a speech—asks this question in a letter to the *News:*

"I do not doubt that the stack would be 18 miles high. But here's what I'd like to know: How did this thing we call big government get started—and what is the legal basis for it?

"By that, I mean did anybody, way back somewhere, ever question these spending programs in court, such a basic thing as the government's right to take my taxes and yours and spend them all over this country and all over the world?"

This question asked goes back 30 years, and it has an interesting background. Most of us have forgotten it.

This country was in the depths of a tragic and horrible depression, following the stock market crash of 1929.

There was an election in 1932, and a New Yorker named Franklin D. Roosevelt was the favored candidate who was promising in his campaign to do everything he could to put the country back on its feet, economically.

He was elected, and so was a Congress pledged to help him.

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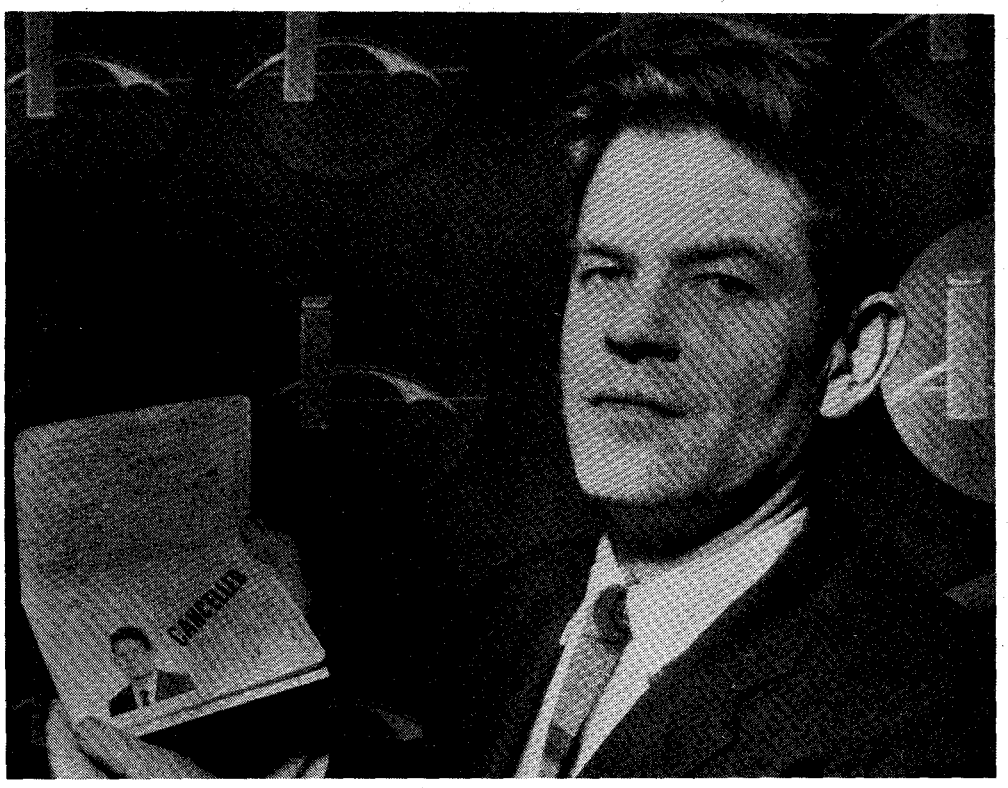

Yale history Prof. Staughton Lynd displays his cancelled passport. The State Department cancelled it because of his trip to North Viet Nam.

Lynd specifically called on young Americans to journey to North Viet Nam and help rebuild non-military structures destroyed by U.S. bombing.

Then he proposed that young Americans try to by-pass their government and negotiate a settlement of the war directly with the Viet Cong. Such an act would be in direct violation of the Logan Act, which makes it a crime for a private citizen to negotiate with a foreign power, but Lynd believes that if the government did attempt to try anyone under the Logan Act such prosecution would serve as a vehicle to denounce the war.

Lynd then set out for Hanoi, showing his further contempt for U.S. law. This journey, and Lynd's participation in it, came about in an interesting way.

During November 1965 the government of North Viet Nam contacted the American Communist party and suggested that three Americans violate the State Department "travel ban" and journey to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The invitation also extended a welcome to "two leaders of the student protest movement in the United States." The two young travelers were specifically requested *not* to be members of the American Communist party.

The American CP, in turn, relayed the invitation from the North Vietnamese to Herbert Aptheker, who heads a relatively new CP "front" operation called the American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS). (Aptheker, formerly the editor of the official Communist party monthly theoretical journal *Political Affairs*, is presently a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA and spends much of his time writing the speeches delivered by Gus Hall, the nominal leader of the party. Aptheker's daughter, Bettina, was a leader of the University of California "Free Speech" battle this past year. Miss Aptheker recently admitted publicly that she, too, is a member of the CP.)

Aptheker, representing the American CP, then contacted Carl Ogelsby, the leader of the Students for a Democratic Society, and James Foreman, the spokesman for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, about joining him on the trip to North Viet Nam. After top level meetings at both SNCC and SDS it was decided not to allow Ogelsby and Foreman to accompany Aptheker since the possibility of arrest existed once the travelers returned to the United States.

This Hanoi journey confronted the participants with the possibility of jail sentences since it flagrantly violated State Department and passport regulations designed to thwart travel to various Communist countries. Although the federal courts have not made a definitive ruling regarding the ban on travel to Cuba, China, Albania, North Korea and North Viet Nam, there is no doubt that the potential travelers were aware of possible legal consequences resulting from the trip to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

After Ogelsby and Foreman backed out, the American CP invited Prof. Staughton Lynd and Tom Hayden, a worker for SDS in Newark, N.J., to accompany Aptheker to Hanoi. These two accepted and the three Americans found themselves in North Viet Nam in mid-December. Upon their return to the United States the public spokesman for the trio was Prof. Lynd and later at a left-wing meeting in New York's Town Hall, Lynd again appeared as the spokesman for the group.

The State Department did not take immediate action against the three travelers upon their return because various attempts at securing a cease-fire were being investigated by the Johnson Administration and it was felt that the arrest of the three would only aggravate an already tense situation.

By the first of February, however, the North Vietnamese had killed the Johnson peace offensive and the State Department moved to invalidate the passports of the travelers.

"Registered" letters were sent informing them that their passports were no longer valid for travel abroad. Staughton Lynd immediately took off for London, England, denying his passport was cancelled. He spoke at various left-wing meetings in England and then returned to this country where he vowed to continue his own international "peace offensive" and his travels no matter what the State Department said or did.

Upon alighting from the airplane from Moscow, the stopover point on the trip from North Viet Nam, Staughton Lynd proved that his observations of the political situation in Viet Nam were open to serious question. Lynd, with an air of professional correctness, told the newsmen that the North Vietnamese had not been contacted by the American government over any peace proposals.

He claimed that "We asked Premier Pham Van Dong [of the DRV] whether the United States had made direct contact . . . . The premier answered 'No.' . . . . We find it quite disturbing." The next day the Johnson Administration released to the press the details of various direct approaches to the North Vietnamese.

Lynd now admits that he may have been "lied to" by the North Vietnamese, but he still considers himself justified in stating that he feels "shame at being an American."

Staughton Lynd has returned to Yale, where he teaches history. Hopefully his history courses are taught with more "objectivity" than his remarks about North Viet Nam would indicate.

Lynd has been at Yale only one academic year, but his stay in New Haven may already be ending. Last week Lynd announced he has a fellowship and would not be at Yale next year. There is much speculation that Yale would like to ease him out and that his contract would not be renewed if he attempts to return in the fall of 1967.

Opposition to Lynd from the alumni has increased since his Hanoi trip and Yale's president, Kingman Brewster, has been quoted as saying that he considers the trip to have been "naive." The very fact that Lynd has spent more time touring this country and abroad, speaking out against U.S. involvement in Viet Nam, than in teaching could be reason enough for Yale not to invite him back.

Some say Lynd may well end up at the Free University of New York (FUNY) where he is already listed as a member of the faculty, lecturing as an "expert" on the Vietnamese war. The Free University was set up and originally financed by the Progressive Labor party and its "fellow-travelers."

Lynd has also found time to contribute to a number of publications with Communist ties and has spoken at various meetings sponsored by groups as apparently diverse as the *National Guardian* and the Socialist Workers party. This varied political activity has caused Irving Howe to note that Lynd wants to dance at everybody's wedding.

As a gadfly Lynd has tried to create as much dismay and turmoil as possible. He has openly admitted that he favors a victory by the Viet Cong and while he is not an open member of any of the young Communist groups he attempts to be a spokesman for them all. Staughton Lynd has definitely made a name for himself on the New Left.

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SOLON TO LYNDON—"As Lyndon Johnson draws up his plans for more 'Great Society' programs in 1966, we'd like to offer this thought by an ancient Greek law-giver, Solon, who flourished from 638 to 559 B.C.: 'No more good must be attempted than the nation can bear.' "—From the Washington *Evening Star*

Legal Basis for Our Big Federal Government?

By DICK WEST in the Dallas *Morning News*

His program was called the New Deal. He brought advisers to Washington, and they were called the Brain Trust.

The volume of legislation in the first year of Roosevelt's administration was unlike anything that had ever hit the halls of Congress.

Naturally, these laws were questioned in court. The late Mr. Roosevelt had his legal eagles ready.

There were several significant skirmishes before the Supreme Court through the 1930s, but mainly the government —in justifying the New Deal—relied on two provisions of the Constitution:

• The general-welfare clause. Under Art. 1, Sec. 8, Congress is given the power "to lay and collect taxes . . . to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare." In other words, the New Deal lawyers said, Congress has a right to tax everybody, then spend the money to get us out of the depression, if getting out of that economic chaos is promoting the general welfare.

• Interstate-commerce clause. Congress, the Constitution says in this same Sec. 8, Art. I, can regulate commerce with foreign nations, "and among the several states." This clause was the basis for most of the New Deal laws dealing with wages and hours, business, money, etc.

Most constitutional lawyers say that those learned gentlemen who met in Philadelphia to draw up the document in 1787 never intended for it to be stretched and interpreted for these broad uses.

In 1937, the Helvering case before the Supreme Court laid the base for many of the forms of big government we now know. The case involved federal old-age pensions.

The Supreme Court ruled that Congress does have a right to spend tax money "in aid of the general welfare."

A few years later the famous Filburn case extended the federal government's power and broadened its scope—which certainly has been broadened even more the last three decades.

That case involved how much wheat a farmer could plant. The New Deal farm program had set up quotas. As long as a farmer remained within his quotas on his farm, he was eligible for subsidies—this was the New Deal's way of controlling the crop, raising its price and increasing the farmer's income as a depression measure. The law also provided that the farmer would be penalized if he raised more wheat than his quota specified.

This farmer did, and fed his surplus to his own livestock. So the government went to court. The Supreme Court ruled, in effect, that the government had the right to tell the farmer what and how much to raise because Congress had the power to regulate commerce between the states.

Get this: The court said that if the farmer had not fed his surplus to his livestock—if he had stayed within his quota—he would have been forced to go into the open market to buy feed for his livestock. Therefore, he was in interstate commerce and subject to regulation under the law passed by Congress.

Just as important: The court ruled that in giving crop subsidies to the farmer, Congress had the right to set regulations involving those subsidies. In other words, if the farmer took federal money, he was subject to federal controls.

These two decisions were accepted as the basis of big government, and it has been getting bigger all the time.

War clouds gathered. The New Deal planners needed more money to finance not only our defense spending but the big-government program.

A man named Beardsly Ruml came up with an "emergency" solution, and it was clever as well as effective—the withholding tax. The regular paychecks of millions were tapped for "emergency" supplies of tax revenue. They still are.

There are fine lawyers of unquestioned reputation who still think that these decisions were wrong and that other legislation broadening the scope of government is unconstitutional.

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And This Is History?

Schlesinger tries to explain Oswald omission

By ALICE WIDENER

A while ago many newspapers published my criticism of Prof. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., for accusing the city of Dallas as the assassin of President John F. Kennedy and for not having even mentioned the name "Lee Harvey Oswald" in the text of *A Thousand Days*. (See *Human Events*, Dec. 18, 1965, issue, page 7.)

I wrote it was hard for me to believe that a Pulitzer Prize historian and self-styled intellectual, who had been deemed worthy of a special advisory position in the White House, could be guilty of such bias and disregard of the facts concerning the horrendous assassination.

Today I learned that a reader of my column wrote a letter to Prof. Schlesinger about the matter and received a reply from him. Here is the full text of the correspondence:

"Dear Prof. Schlesinger:

"In your outstanding book, *A Thousand Days*, you treat the assassination segment with an implied indictment against the city of Dallas. The name 'Oswald' is never mentioned. If you did not refer to the assassination (as in Sorensen's book), this omission would be understandable.

"Would you be kind enough, Professor, to explain your rather interesting omission?

"On the subject of community indictment, you may recall the incident in California when extremist pickets tossed paint against the person of Gen. Maxwell Taylor. Upon the insult to the late lamented Adlai Stevenson (in Dallas), those who cried out about the hatred in Dallas were strangely silent about the Taylor incident.

"Sincerely yours,

"Allan Schneider
New York City"

"Dear Mr. Schneider:

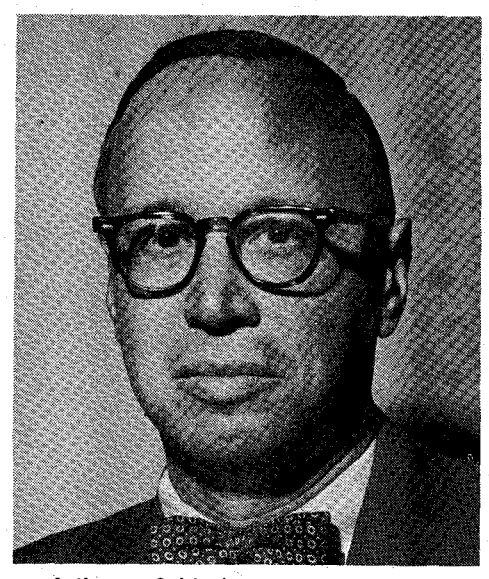
"My feeling about the murder of President Kennedy is that it was motivated not by politics but by madness, and my point about Dallas in *A Thousand Days* was that a city of such exceptional hysteria and violence might well subvert the already twisted psyche of a weak and impressionable man, like Oswald, and lead him to terrible actions. The issue, in short, seemed to me not a question of ideology, whether right or left, but of irrationality vs. rationality.

"I am very glad you liked other parts of the book. Thank you for taking the trouble to write.

"Sincerely yours,
"Arthur Schlesinger, Jr."

To the foregoing correspondence, which confirms Prof. Schlesinger's unscholarly, sweeping defamation of Dallas, there is little need for comment except to state a fact and ask a question.

Fact—Lee Harvey Oswald was a self-proclaimed Marxist. (Anyone doubting that he was a well-indoctrinated, calculating and shrewd Marxist should listen to the tape recording of his answers, as spokesman for the Communist-subsidized Fair Play for Cuba Committee, during a New Orleans Radio Station



Arthur Schlesinger characterized Dallas as a city of "exceptional hysteria and violence."

WDSU interview, Aug. 21, 1963, only three months before he assassinated President Kennedy.)

Question:—On what statistical basis does Prof. Schlesinger rate Dallas as "exceptional" in violence as compared, for example, with New York City, Washington, D. C., Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia and Los Angeles?

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SUBSIDIZED POLES—In spite of Poland's active aid to Hanoi, the U.S. National Academy of Science and the Polish Academy of Sciences have begun a three-year program of exchange visits by scientists of the two countries. Started February 1, the program permits Polish scientists to stay in the United States up to one year to carry out laboratory research and field studies. The exchange is underwritten with federal money. A comparable program is pending with academies in Rumania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Revealing Testimony About IRS Activities

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Some of the most frightening testimony about our government that has come to my attention concerns the activities of the Internal Revenue Service.

To be sure, the tax collector isn't popular by any standards or at any time, but this latest testimony paints a blacker picture than most Americans, despite anything they may have thought in the past, could have imagined.

It came out during a San Francisco trail in which it was shown that the IRS had hired a woman to set up a bookie operation in order to trap other gamblers who might be holding out on their payments to the tax collectors.

The fact that the gambling is illegal, of course, has long since stopped bothering the tax collectors. All they want is their cut, and it appears they don't care how they get it.

But the most disturbing testimony came when an ex-tax collector testified he had once worked on a case in which $30 was due. He testified that the IRS spent some $25,000 in investigative work and preparation for seeking an indictment on that $30 bill.

He also testified that IRS keeps a file of cases "on the back burner" and then moves them up for high-priced prosecution, at tax collecting time, in order to get publicity and presumably frighten other taxpayers.

Many things combine to make this testimony chilling and disturbing. It could easily serve as the basis for a thorough-going congressional investigation, with the congressman doing the job becoming a true hero to millions of long-suffering taxpayers.

For one thing, the IRS normally operates under a system of law that is repulsive to most Americans: The tax collector assumes that the citizen is guilty until the citizen can prove himself innocent.

There are tax courts in which a citizen can seek redress or defend himself against the tax collectors, but I feel it is fair to say that not one in a thousand Americans being harried by the tax collectors has the means or the knowledge to seek relief in such courts. With the current concern about defense for persons in other sorts of trials, it would be refreshing to see equal concern for a defense against the tax collectors.

Tax collectors have long used paid informers and various other methods of snooping on American citizens. Add to these startling new revelations the persistent reports of the use of IRS files to harass businessmen and others into support of this or that political action or to punish those out of favor with the politicians in power. It is time for a housecleaning.

There may be reluctance among journalists to criticize the tax collectors or the politicians in power for fear that they will be subjected to tax harassment. One prominent newsman has told a horrible story along those lines.

At any rate, there is smoke, and there may be fire. The time to check it is now.

As I said for so many years in the Senate, the best way to reform it all would be to simplify our tax system so that honest men would not be plunged into a sea of red tape so deep that it technically could make criminals of us all.

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People Hoarding 'Old' Quarters

Gresham's Law Appears to Be Winning Again

From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

Last summer, when President Johnson asked—and received—congressional consent to reduce the silver content of dimes, quarters and half-dollars, we had the temerity to warn of the perils of flirting with Gresham's Law. For which, we might add, we were severely taken to task by some of our letter-writers. One called the editorial "home-brewed hogwash" and a demonstration of "old-timey, home-made economics—devoid of all reason but full of emotion."

But much has been written and spoken of late to suggest that reports of Gresham's Law's demise were greatly exaggerated. And now a congressional committee is even looking into the matter.

Gresham's Law—first enunciated by Sir Thomas Gresham some four centuries ago—is that bad money drives out good. It means that where there are two forms of currency—one with a high intrinsic value and the other without—the public will tend to hoard the former and to spend the latter.

If, for example, the $5 gold piece were still in vogue, along with bills, the man in the street would tend to salt his gold pieces away—knowing that gold is something of enduring value—and spend his $5 bills.

Something very similar could happen, we suggested last summer, if the silver content of our coinage were to be reduced from the standard 90 per cent.

Congress, unhappily, ignored our advice. The new cupronickel quarter—which has been variously described as the "phony" quarter and the "made-in-Japan" quarter—has been introduced in large quantities. The cupronickel half-dollar is being introduced sometime this spring.

In the meantime, however, the "old-timey" half-dollar has been dropping out of circulation at a pace that has Federal Reserve officials—and a great many others—both puzzled and alarmed.

This has been equally true of the so-called Standing Liberty half-dollar and the Benjamin Franklin half-dollar, as well as of the John F. Kennedy half-dollar, which was introduced in 1964.

Gordon G. Watts, vice president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, declares: "We haven't had a half-dollar flow back to us in 12 weeks." ("Flow back" is a term used to measure coin circulation. Not long ago, old coins were flowing back to the nation's Federal Reserve banks in sufficient quantity to permit them to supply coin requests from private banks with a mixture of 90 per cent old coins and 10 per cent brand-new coins.)

James C. Craig, assistant vice president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, discloses that his bank hadn't received a single half-dollar back for 18 months—with the exception of a few that had been mutilated.

And a Federal Reserve Bank official in Chicago reports: "We put out a tremendous quantity of (newly-minted) half-dollars, but you don't see them in circulation locally. You don't see them in change and there is no flow back."

The mystery of the missing half-dollar is one that hasn't yet been fully resolved. And we question whether the congressional inquiry will produce any findings likely to embarrass the Administration.

So pending a full explanation, we're going to cling to our "old-timey, home-made economics"—"emotion" and all.

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PEACE AT ANY PRICE?—"[Sen. J. W.] Fulbright's reputation for prescience in foreign affairs rests heavily on his warning to President Kennedy before the Bay of Pigs that this adventure was ill advised. What is forgotten is that his advice was given in a context of indifference to the Russian buildup of military facilities in Cuba, even missiles and fighter planes. A strong inclination toward peace at any price runs through almost all of Fulbright's many pronouncements on foreign policy. He has challenged the worth of U.S. victories in two wars. . . . It must be acknowledged that Fulbright has that rare thing in politics: the courage to be wrong. But does he have to keep proving it?"—By Kenneth Crawford in *Newsweek*

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BUREAUCRATS MULTIPLY—Buried in the President's 1,308-page budget are provisions for an additional 187,747 full-time federal civilian employes. The jobs are to be added to present payrolls during this calendar year and the first six months of 1967.

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THE FBI's MOST FAMOUS CASES, by Andrew Tully, introduction by J. Edgar Hoover (William Morrow and Co., 242 pages, indexed, $4.95).

Mr. Tully, working with access to the bureau's official records, has written a readable account of the 21 cases considered by Director Hoover to be among the most important in its 57-year history. They range from the gangland days of John Dillinger and "Machine Gun" Kelly to the Rosenberg spy case and the kidnapping of Frank Sinatra Jr.

THE UNANSWERED QUESTIONS ABOUT PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S ASSASSINATION, by Sylvan Fox (Award Books, 75¢, 222 pages). The report of the Warren Commission had barely reached the bookstands when stinging criticisms began to be heard. Throughout Europe the theory spread that Lee Harvey Oswald carried out the assassination in concert with the FBI, the CIA and the American right wing—or, as some theoreticians speculated, with all three. These bizarre theories were echoed in this country by authors who, curiously enough, ranged across the political spectrum from right to left.

Such speculation was nurtured by the very real deficiencies of the Warren Report: important witnesses who were never called; facts that were overlooked; leads that were only halfway followed; avenues of investigation that were never touched upon. Evidence suggesting a conspiracy in President Lincoln's assassination may never be fully explained because of the incomplete official investigation at the time. Similarly, the Warren Report leaves scores of loose ends.

Mr. Fox, a Pulitzer Prize winner, was the city editor of the New York **World-Telegram**. He has produced a well researched and utterly dispassionate critique of the Warren Report, after first carefully recounting the events of the Kennedy assassination and the Oswald murder. He raises questions for which no answers are to be found in the report.

The absence of these vital answers causes many uncertainties; for example, about Oswald's motivation; about how many shots were fired at Mr. Kennedy and from where; the location of his wounds; how Ruby managed to get into the police station with the pinpoint timing which enabled him to slay Oswald; what Ruby's motives were; and finally, about the existence of any conspiracies.

All the commission really has proved to Mr. Fox's satisfaction is that Oswald participated in the assassination of the President, that Oswald killed Officer Tippit and that Oswald was slain by Ruby. But, in Mr. Fox's words, "by ignoring testimony that did not fit, by overlooking witnesses, by withholding evidence and leaving dozens of vital questions unanswered, the commission failed to prove the other half of its contention: that Oswald and Ruby each acted alone."

It seems clear that the Warren Commission simply ignored evidence which might have cast doubt on this contention. Its conduct of the investigation is, for that reason, a classic demonstration of liberal ideology in operation—a blindness to inconvenient facts. Fox's devastating critique is a sure bet to make any fair-minded reader wonder how the Warren Report ever achieved such unanimous public acclaim.

Clergymen Seek Anti-Viet Funds

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

A group of leftist clergymen has launched a nationwide campaign for tax-exempt contributions to finance a major propaganda drive against U.S. policy in South Viet Nam.

Funds are sought by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a radical peace group with headquarters in Nyack, N.Y. Fellowship leaders have created a front group, the Clergymen's Emergency Committee for Viet Nam, to denounce American policy.

That committee recently sponsored a $22,000 advertisement in the New York *Times* assailing American intervention. Similar ads will be placed in other newspapers throughout the country. Excerpts from the *Times* ad:

"To the people and government of the United States: The horrors that your planes and massive firepower are inflicting on the people of Viet Nam are beyond moral or political justification."

Letters seeking funds for additional ads were recently sent to several thousand wealthy leftists. The letters, signed by prominent clergymen, asked contributions of up to $5,000. The gifts are tax-exempt, since the Treasury Department has ruled that the Fellowship of Reconciliation is an educational, rather than political, group.

Not surprisingly, several of the clergymen who signed the recent letters have records of leftist affiliations. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., for one, was active in the campaign to free Carl Braden, an identified Communist who was convicted of contempt of Congress. Others who signed the fund-raising plea include:

• Dr. Jacob Weinstein, president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Dr. Weinstein has been affiliated with the following officially cited Communist fronts: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, American Youth for Democracy, National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Civil Rights Congress, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, Progressive Citizens of America, the Spanish Refugee Appeal, and the Rosenberg Clemency Appeal.

• Methodist Bishop A. Raymond Grant of Portland, Ore. Dr. Grant has lent his name to three officially cited fronts, the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, the Methodist Federation for Social Action, and the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act.

• Dana McLean Greeley, president of the Unitarian-Universalist Association. Dr. Greeley has been affiliated with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, American Youth for Democracy, the National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims, and the Rosenberg Clemency Appeal.

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Farmer Heads New Center

A $50-Million Poverty Acorn

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Apparently the anti-poverty Office of Economic Opportunity learned little from the flood of criticism that followed its grant of $50,000 in anti-poverty funds to finance the notorious Black Arts Theatre in Harlem.

The OEO now plans to embark on another venture that, while more respectable than the Black Arts Theatre, may be even more controversial in the long run. The OEO has agreed to finance in Washington the National Center for Community Action Education, Inc., to the tune of $860,000, which is merely a preliminary grant.

The center, to be opened this spring,

James Farmer, formerly of CORE, heads the new federally supported center.

is represented as a private, non-profit corporation established to improve literacy and job skills among low-income Negroes.

The center's activities will be directed by James Farmer, who resigned as the national director of the Congress of Racial Equality to take his new post. Farmer is a pacifist who has frequently embraced the principles of socialism. However, he is not a total pacifist: He once said during a press conference that if non-violent techniques should fail, "then violence is a better course than complete acquiescence." Farmer also acted as CORE's liaison man with the Black Muslims and the militant Deacons of Defense.

Aiding him in the operation of the new center will be CORE's new director, Floyd McKissick. Columnists Evans and Novak report that McKissick took an adamant position against capitalism at the recent White House Conference on Civil Rights.

It was at this conference, it may be recalled, that participants suggested, among other things, that General Motors be confiscated, nationalized and then turned over to minority groups. McKissick is a militant black nationalist who also follows Socialist doctrine.

John Lewis also will be one of the center's directors. He is well known for his radical activities in behalf of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; he helped to draft the January 6 policy statement for Snick that opposed U.S. policy in Viet Nam and encouraged the burning of draft cards in protest.

Dr. Martin Luther King will be a director. Dr. King, currently residing in a redecorated Chicago slum, said last week that civil disobedience may be necessary to implement his drive against slum conditions in Negro sections of Chicago.

According to the *National Observer*, the center plans eventually to have operating funds of $50 million a year, both from private contributions and from federal funds. However, recent reports indicate that private contributions to major civil rights groups, including the NAACP, are dropping off; therefore it appears quite likely that the major part of the $50 million will have to come from federal grants. The center already has taken up quarters in the plush L'Espionage Restaurant, formerly one of the most luxurious eating places in Georgetown.

A number of other anti-poverty programs have proved catalysts for political action by galvanizing the poor into voting blocs; others have helped to build powerful local political machines for the Democratic party.

On its face, the new center is envisioned as a "self-help" project for Negroes. Self-help is a commendable goal for the poor, but the radical politics of the new center's officials suggest that this new project might evolve into a $50-million center for advocates of pacifism, socialism and civil disobedience. And who will foot most of the bill? You will, friend, with your taxes.

□ □ □

FAMINE IN INDIA—" . . . failure of monsoons, which is not an unusual phenomenon in the country, is not the main cause of the present famine conditions, though it has undoubtedly aggravated the situation. The self-complacency on the part of the [Indian government] planners in this matter and a naive belief in America's ability to help us endlessly to tide over the crisis such as the present one, created by the over-emphasis laid on industrial development of the country on the shifting sands of a weak agricultural base, have landed us into our present predicament and have brought us to our present disaster on this front. . . . It is high time we realized that a prodigal spending of our resources on so-called "infra-structure" industries has led to a colossal waste of national wealth and misdirection of our scarce resources, resulting inevitably in the neglect of food production, which should have claimed primary attention of our planners."—From the *Indian Libertarian*, Bombay

□ □ □

OUTRAGEOUS STATEMENT—A prominent Jewish leader has resigned from the national board of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), accusing the civil rights group of reacting with "flabby" moral fibre to an anti-Semitic remark of one of its officers in Mount Vernon, N.Y. Will Maslow, who is executive director of the American Jewish Congress, tendered his resignation after Clifford A. Brown, a CORE official, told an audience of 100 men and women, including Jews, that "Hitler made one mistake when he didn't kill enough of you." CORE spokesmen said they would investigate the outburst to determine the "context of the remark about Hitler." Maslow resigned from CORE, saying it was inconceivable that "any context would make Brown's outrageous statement permissable."

□ □ □

POTOMAC FEVER—LBJ claims he still likes the idea of a balanced budget. In fact, he likes it so much that each year he postpones it once more so he'll be sure of having at least one thing to look forward to.—By Jack Wilson

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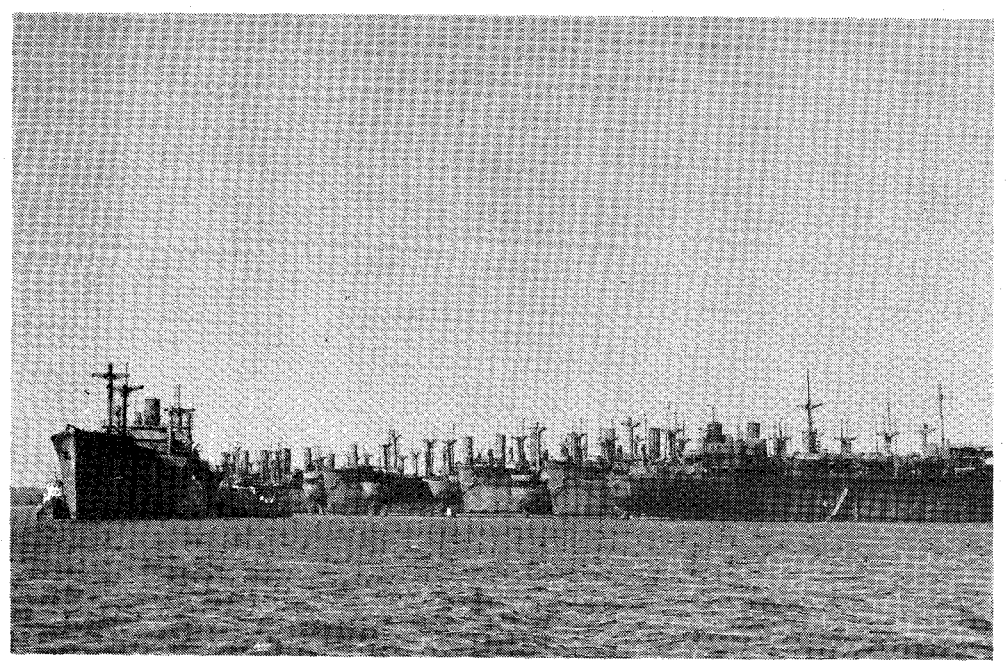

U.S. merchant ships are being pulled out of mothballs to carry needed cargoes to South Viet Nam, only to be tied up for weeks at a time near Saigon.

Sylvester Tries to Deny Reports Of Shipping Blunders in Viet Nam

By VICTOR RIESEL

There is no brass curtain stretching from the Pentagon to Viet Nam's ports regardless of what has appeared in this column. I get this from none other than Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester, who before he became a bureaucrat was a mighty fine newspaperman.

He scolds me quite indignantly for reporting that the port of Saigon is clogged; that there is inefficiency; that there is corruption; that there is red-tape, rule-book creakiness delaying the flow of crucial food and supplies to U. S. troops and to the Vietnamese people.

Mr. Sylvester's loyalty to his chief is admirable. His indignation is understandable. What gets into the public prints gets into the White House and to the President's attention.

It is, therefore, quite respectfully suggested here—and I do so not only as a columnist, but as chairman of the Freedom of the Press Committee of the Overseas Press Club—that Assistant Secretary Sylvester talk to the skilled union men who have just returned from self-sacrificing missions to Viet Nam.

Longshoremen's chief Ted Gleason would tell him, as he did me, that there are still horrendous and unnecessary delays in unloading scores of idle freighters, among which are some of America's finest and swiftest vessels. The International Longshoremen's president reports that his recommendations made on October 21, after his first survey trip to Saigon, have been virtually ignored.

He states that practically none of the unloading "gear" which he advised be rushed to the choked port has been dispatched. Instead, he has been told that there are no funds available, though the unloading equipment would cost only $8 million. This money would merely be advanced. The stevedoring companies would rent the machinery from the U.S. government on a per diem basis. Thus, it is simply a matter of the government advancing funds.

Mr. Gleason had recommended the construction of 10,000 wooden pallets, for example. This would have taken a month. They have not yet been built.

Furthermore, most of the equipment which Mr. Gleason, with 50 years of American dockside experience, said was vital is in Yokohama harbor.

Thus freighters carrying desperately needed material have been worked only 40 per cent of capacity at any time, Mr. Gleason has charged. This is two and a half times slower than what could be accomplished.

But Mr. Sylvester, who is chief public affairs officer for the Defense Department, tells me in some parts of Viet Nam cargo is being discharged "at rates comparable to major ports throughout the world."

Mr. Sylvester also objects to reports of lack of planning. However, he does admit that at the end of November 1965, far more than a year after the United States began bombing the enemy, there were 122 ships awaiting discharge of cargo. This, he says, was reduced to 81 by January 7, "and the downward trend has continued so that we are now at a level which is necessary to maintain an efficient operation at the various South Viet Nam ports."

I am delighted to obtain Mr. Sylvester's analysis, though it came only after a full year of futile telephoning.

However, Mr. Sylvester is at odds with the public and private reports of three American waterfront labor delegations which have spent some time in Viet Nam.

These labor men have been warned —quite explicitly—not to talk publicly of what they found.

And it is repeated here again: They found corruption. They found ineptitude. They found, for example, that one Saigon waterfront facility was owned by a French company. This dock complex was not being used to its full capacity. Yet it was not until eight weeks ago that the military took it over to get "the stuff" to American GIs and Vietnamese soldiers and civilians.

For four months now—ever since Ted Gleason reported the presence of labor brokers—flesh peddlers—there has been little change in the hiring practices on the Viet Nam docks. Tiny women, weighing 100 pounds, still work as cargo slingers—and carry 200-pound bags.

If there is no brass curtain, why not permit the waterfront labor leaders to tell the full story to the American people?

More than cargo is involved. There are American kids in those jungle hills.

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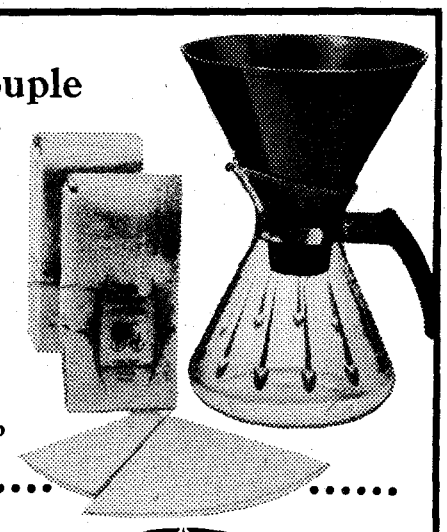

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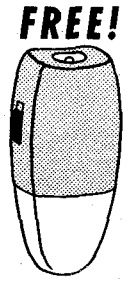

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Is Race the Issue in Rhodesia?

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Salisbury, Rhodesia:—To hear tell, Rhodesia is under British, American and African attack not because she has decided to chart her own course, but because of the racist nature of Prime Minister Ian Smith's government.

Ironically, the charge has come from those who were the most determined to destroy Katanga, which, unlike most of Africa, was a thoroughly non-racial state. This effort to tar Rhodesians with a racist brush has served to obscure the personal nature of British Prime Minister Harold Wilson's vendetta—or of covering up the cynical behavior of our own government, now playing up to the very African countries that always vote against us at the United Nations.

To the racism charge, a handful of African leaders have loudly added that the Rhodesian government wants to keep their people in poverty. This charge was made to me by the opposition M.P, I.H. Samuriwo, a very rich man who owns bus lines and a string of shops.

Prime Minister Smith's answer that merit alone is the key to political advancement in Rhodesia is ignored, as is his further contention that merit must remain the sole gauge of men in Rhodesia or in any country. A fair-minded man, moreover, might note that the poverty charge comes with particularly bad grace at a time when economically pinched farmers continue to put up their own money to help Africans improve the quality and yield of their fields.

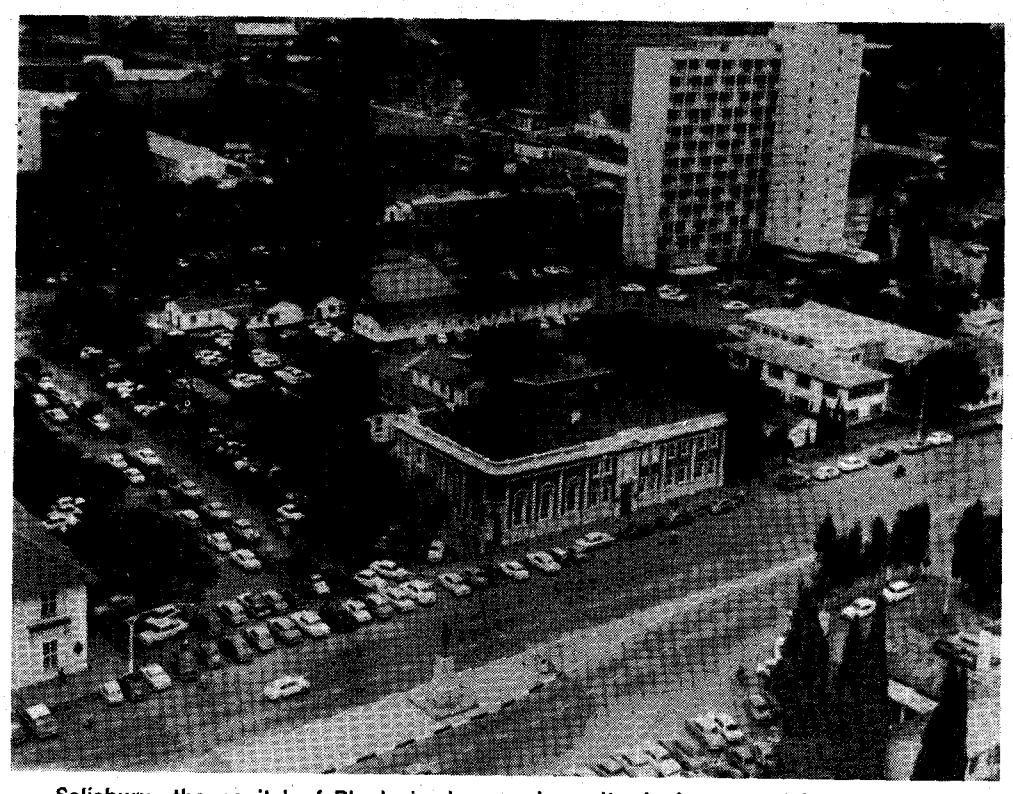
The idea that Rhodesia has created a kind of polite apartheid is easily countered by the evidence of the eye, the ear and the fact. Africans mingle with whites on the streets of Salisbury. They eat and drink together at such first-class hotels as the Ambassador. And there is no tension at all in day-to-day relationships—something that neither New York City nor Birmingham, Ala., can claim. The best statement of Rhodesia's philosophy in this regard was made to me by Deputy Minister of Information Van der Byl, a young official whose seriousness of purpose and eloquence of thought are sometimes hidden behind the seeming superciliousness of the British manner.

"In Rhodesia," says Mr. Van der Byl, "there are two distinct societies. The first is Western, parliamentary and democratic—and within it you will find those of Asian extraction and some of the colored, as well as the European. The second is patriarchal, hierarchical and authoritarian—an entirely black tribal society. In between, there is a no man's land, an intermediary group for whom the tribal system has lost some of its meaning. They belong neither to the tribal nor to the Western systems. It is this group which has the problem.

"It would be morally and pragmatically wrong for the Western society to impose its customs on the tribal society, except by example and persuasion. Of course, we must put a damper on such old tribal customs as killing one of twins. But they must be the arbiters of their own destiny. For those who wish to leave that society and join the Western system, however, no obstacles are put in the way. There is no inhibition on an African getting the vote."

He argues cogently that unless there are educational and/or income considerations in determining who shall vote, the very aim of bringing democratic institutions to Rhodesia will be defeated—and he can point easily to what has happened in all areas of Africa where this principle has been ignored in favor of indiscriminate "majority rule"—which becomes dictatorship almost immediately.

In Rhodesia's present transitional stage, there are two voting rolls—the A roll, which is predominantly European, and the B roll, which is predominantly African. The A roll elects 50 members of Parliament. The B roll elects 15. No one of all the people I spoke to has challenged the honesty of the manner in which the franchise is determined.



Salisbury, the capital of Rhodesia, is a modern city. In foreground is a statue of Cecil Rhodes, founder of the country.

The African opposition in Parliament, however, argues that there are not enough schools to give their people a chance to receive the education necessary to qualify for the A roll. The fact is that Rhodesia has more primary school chairs than there are takers in the African population—almost all of it paid out of white pockets. The ratio of children in school to total population is 1 in 6 in Rhodesia, 1 in 18 in Tanganyika, 1 in 40 in Liberia, and 1 in 108 in Ethiopia. Rhodesia almost matches Great Britain's 1 in 5—without Britain's far greater resources.

Education suffers because African parents take nubile daughters out of school to sell them into marriage, no matter how promising their academic careers may be. The extension of the franchise has suffered because the nationalists—until steps were taken against them—visited the petrol bomb and the stiletto on those Africans who tried to take advantage of their rights.

Had the Rhodesian system been employed in the United States after the War Between the States, the advance of the Negro would have been accelerated and our present convulsions avoided. The insistence of our government on principles which it does not understand and has studiously avoided for generations seems like a shabby joke to many Rhodesians.

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Congressmen Charge Job Corps Permits Law of Jungle to Prevail

Despite promises from Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) that he is going to reactivate his committee's probe of the "War on Poverty" (see story on page 6), Republican members of the House Education and Labor Committee have vowed to expose anti-poverty scandals themselves.

Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.) and Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) have issued a scathing attack on Job Corps policy. The two lawmakers charged on the House floor that anti-poverty officials have permitted the law of the jungle to prevail at Job Corps centers and cited an Idaho case to prove their point.

They said a California youth, Paul Dennis Jones, on parole after three felony convictions, beat and stabbed a fellow Corpsman last November 15 at the Mountain Home, Idaho, Job Corps Center. He was in violation of his parole at the time.

They said that not only did Job Corps offfcials refuse to cooperate with the local prosecuting attorney, but they paid for an attorney and psychiatric treatment for the 20-year-old defendant.

Quie and Goodell said Jones was a dormitory leader, wing leader and squadron leader at the time of his arrest, despite his criminal record. They said a telegram from Washington asked that Jones be returned to the center without punishment, and that the Job Corps agreed to take him back after he served the four-month term to which a judge sentenced him.

Quie and Goodell called the capsule an example of "two dangerous and damaging" things about the administration of the Job Corps. "First, the screening of enrollees is so incredibly haphazard that officials don't even know when enrollees are on parole for commission of major felonies. Second, the philosophy of Job Corps officials is so ridiculously soft and confused that they will excuse almost any behavior by an enrollee, even when it jeopardizes the chance of other enrollees to succeed."

□ □ □

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

Insatiable Bureaucrats

By REP. RICHARD ROUDEBUSH (R.-Ind.)

After five years in Congress I am convinced that the ability of the federal planners and spenders to find new and unique ways to squander tax money is inexhaustible. Once the tax dollars reach Washington, they lose identification as the product of someone's work and productivity, and become just another shovelful of fuel for the insatiable spending appetite of the federal bureaucracy. It's highly interesting that the Administration is asking for reductions in such areas as school lunch and school milk programs to finance its "Great Society" programs, but at the same time goes right ahead with such expenditures as involved in a plant study high in the mountains of Mexico and Guatemala.

Chain Spending

By REP. CHARLES BENNETT (D.-Fla.)

We have developed a bad habit of spending taxpayers' money, which can be compared to a chain smoker's habit; he finds it very, very hard to give up the habit. It is fine to have these broad new social programs outlined in the budget if they can be financed without too great a burden on small income families. But I cannot believe that this can be done; or that it will be done without also endangering the security of our nation at war. We need a new bomber force and the development of an adequate anti-missile defense among other unbudgeted items. We should be just to the next generation's taxpayers before we are generous to our own generation.

Miami Boondoggle

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Since January 20, President Johnson has surfeited Congress with messages and regaled the nation via press, radio and television with a torrent of words on almost every subject except the subzero cold in the midwest and the snow in Washington. Through it all has been the theme of individual citizen responsibility to support the growing war in Southeast Asia—a war that is costing billions of dollars a year—while advocating or condoning a continuation of reckless spending for almost every extravagance known to the mind of man.

Typical is the action of the House of Representatives on Feb. 3, 1966, in giving final approval of a fantastic boondoggle known as Interama, a permanent exposition to be constructed on 580 acres of a 1,700-acre swamp on the Gold Coast of Florida near Miami. Into this scheme will go $22 million of federal funds in the form of a "loan" from the Community Facilities Administration, plus an outright grant from the federal treasury of $9.5 million for an exposition building and maintenance of the same for a brief period.

For years the promoters of this deal have been trying to raid the U.S. Treasury for funds without success. But in 1964, presidential candidate Lyndon Johnson, campaigning for votes in Florida, apparently gave it a green light. Subsequently, Vice President Humphrey took a helicopter ride over the swamp, and added his blessing.

Rep. Hall of Missouri, opposing approval, pointedly called attention to the fact that housing for servicemen in the same area as well as elsewhere in the nation is inadequate, while millions are to be spent for an exposition to benefit the tourists and the "poor" who live in the resort hotels and motels of Miami and Miami Beach.

Thus in the first real test in Congress in 1966, the issue of boondoggles versus the fighting of a war was resolved by the "Great Society" in favor of more and better boondoggles.

HUD's Publicity Blitz

By REP. WILLIAM WIDNALL (R.-N.J.)

The new Department of Housing and Urban Development, set up to coordinate the attack on metropolitan problems, made an uncoordinated attack on my office recently with 16 copies (count 'em) of the same press release, in 16 separate envelopes, in the same mail. I don't know whether to be flattered or annoyed. Am I that important or do they have a mailing machine that stutters? What if I only get one copy tomorrow? Have I fallen out of favor? Or is this just life in America's political capital? We dig our way out of one blizzard only to be faced with another snow job.

Education Bungling

By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

Now after almost a full year's experience the folly of rushing programs through Congress without real study is beginning to show. . . probably the most disappointing has been federal aid to education. Theodore R. Sizer, dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, wrote in a recent report: "The money in Washington has more often than not preceded the ideas. . . . The new leaders tend to be young intellectuals in a hurry . . . . They want and, for good political reasons, need fast results. . . . This has meant quickly planned and large-scale programs in schools. Rarely is there thoughtful inquiry as to the long-time effects of programs. . . ." In California, professional educators who have achieved worldwide reputations for developing excellent educational programs are disillusioned and disappointed. In the name of fighting poverty, new and inefficient programs are administered by inexperienced and duplicate sets of administrators. Funds which could be so efficiently used by our well-organized adult education system are directed instead at programs where only one dollar in six is actually devoted to education with the rest going to "fringe benefits." One Job Corps Camp at Parks Air Force Base costs the federal government only $3 million less than the total state allocation for adult education over all of California. What poverty programs are handled by the schools are tangled with so much administrative red tape that some school boards are refusing to handle them. In one school the non-certificated librarian hired for a poverty program will receive $2,000 per year more than the highest paid certificated teacher in the same school. This federal "help" has presented school administrators with a major headache.

Foreign Aid Whitewash

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S. C.)

The President is . . . asking Congress for five-year authorizations for economic aid programs. This would eliminate the increasingly difficult annual battles which the Administration must face in Congress to get approval for the program. It would also deprive Congress of the power to demand information about the foreign aid program each year before its approval is given. There is considerable evidence the new look in foreign aid is little more than a "face lifting" in the hope of hiding the same amounts of give-away funds and many of the old objectionable features behind a fresh paint job.

Lyndon's Lull

By REP. JOHN WYDLER (R.-N.Y.)

Contrary to what people think, there are two "lulls" in Washington today. One is the well-known bombing lull which recently ended in Viet Nam and the other lull is the "Lyndon lull" in legislation in Washington. Congress has done practically nothing since the President's State of the Union message and at a time when we face so many crises in Viet Nam and at home in his proposals for new taxes this is a very shocking development. I think the country should be made aware of the fact that in the House of Representatives we have done little if anything until this week. So, a month has gone by of wasted legislative time. This is important for the nation and I think the people should realize that it's probably caused by the President's indecision on his economic policies. This must be brought to an end and the President must act to reduce spending before the inflationary spiral gets completely out of hand.

Is Aid to Viet Cong Legal?

If so, Congress should immediately change the law

By SEN. JACK MILLER (R.-Iowa)

For some time now, I have been concerned over what appears to be a stepped-up campaign to undercut our efforts in Viet Nam and Southeast Asia.

I have been disturbed over the increase in Communist propaganda to the United States, material which can be said flatly to be a part of the program of the psychological warfare which is being waged against the American people. This material has been designed to harm our war effort. It is intended to confuse and mislead those who receive it by detracting from the real issues and purposes of the conflict in South Viet Nam.

It is because of this concern that I was dismayed to read in the February 8 New York *Times* an article dealing with the reported production by leftists in Los Angeles of radio tapes described as "aimed at undermining the United States military effort in Viet Nam."

According to the article, the tapes urge the United States not only to withdraw from Viet Nam but suggest ways for American soldiers to avoid military service there.

These tapes are said to be broadcast by Radio Hanoi. This can only mean that the broadcasts are being fed to any American or ally listening in Viet Nam. It can only mean that the broadcasts are intended to undermine the morale of the allied fighting man there.

The article said the Justice Department is investigating the reported production. But at the same time the article questions the effectiveness of the investigation by quoting the United States district attorney's office in Los Angeles as saying " . . . it has not yet been determined whether such propaganda was illegal because there had not been a formal declaration of war in Viet Nam."

SEN. JACK MILLER (R.-Iowa)

If there is no law on the books which would make the production and distribution of such propaganda illegal, then I believe the appropriate committees of Congress should investigate the matter with a view to either stopping or curtailing such endeavors through appropriate legislation.

The war is difficult enough without permitting this type of propaganda to continue indefinitely, without fear of penalty. The hardships our soldiers are enduring in Viet Nam are severe enough without permitting them to be subject to broadcasts taped right here in the United States for the purpose of waging psychological warfare against them.

We cannot prevent the broadcasts originating in Hanoi, but we certainly should be able to do something about tapes being produced in the United States.

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Edmund Burke, too, is a man for our time: like us he lived in an age of revolution. He saw intellectuals of satanic arrogance itching to make mankind conform to their blueprints and contemptuous of every value that Christian civilization stood for. And he saw what it would all lead to: lawless mobs screaming for blood. Burke shows us why the one inevitably leads to the other — why the people we call Liberals make smooth the path to Auschwitz and Budapest . . . the Bay of Pigs . . . Berkeley . . . Watts. *Reflections on the Revolution in France* is more than an incomparable source of conservative ideas. It is one of the world's great models of vivid prose.

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* proved that free enterprise made sense — and made prosperity. Smith, anticipating the bleeding hearts of our own day, showed how enlightened self-interest helps the underdog more than a dozen "poverty programs". Smith had an inquiring mind, an eye that missed nothing, and a pen that makes the ideas of freedom all but dance on the page.

Democracy in America is fascinating on several levels. It is a picture of our national character that still holds true in many ways; a knowing look at our political and social and religious habits (it took a sympathetic Frenchman to notice how really different we are); and, above all, a remarkable analysis of the prospects of freedom in a nation that, even in the 1830's, was moving fast from mixed and limited government to mass democracy. Because Tocqueville liked America and loved liberty, and because his own land made the easy slide from Liberalism to mob rule to tyranny, he has insights for us that we dare not ignore.

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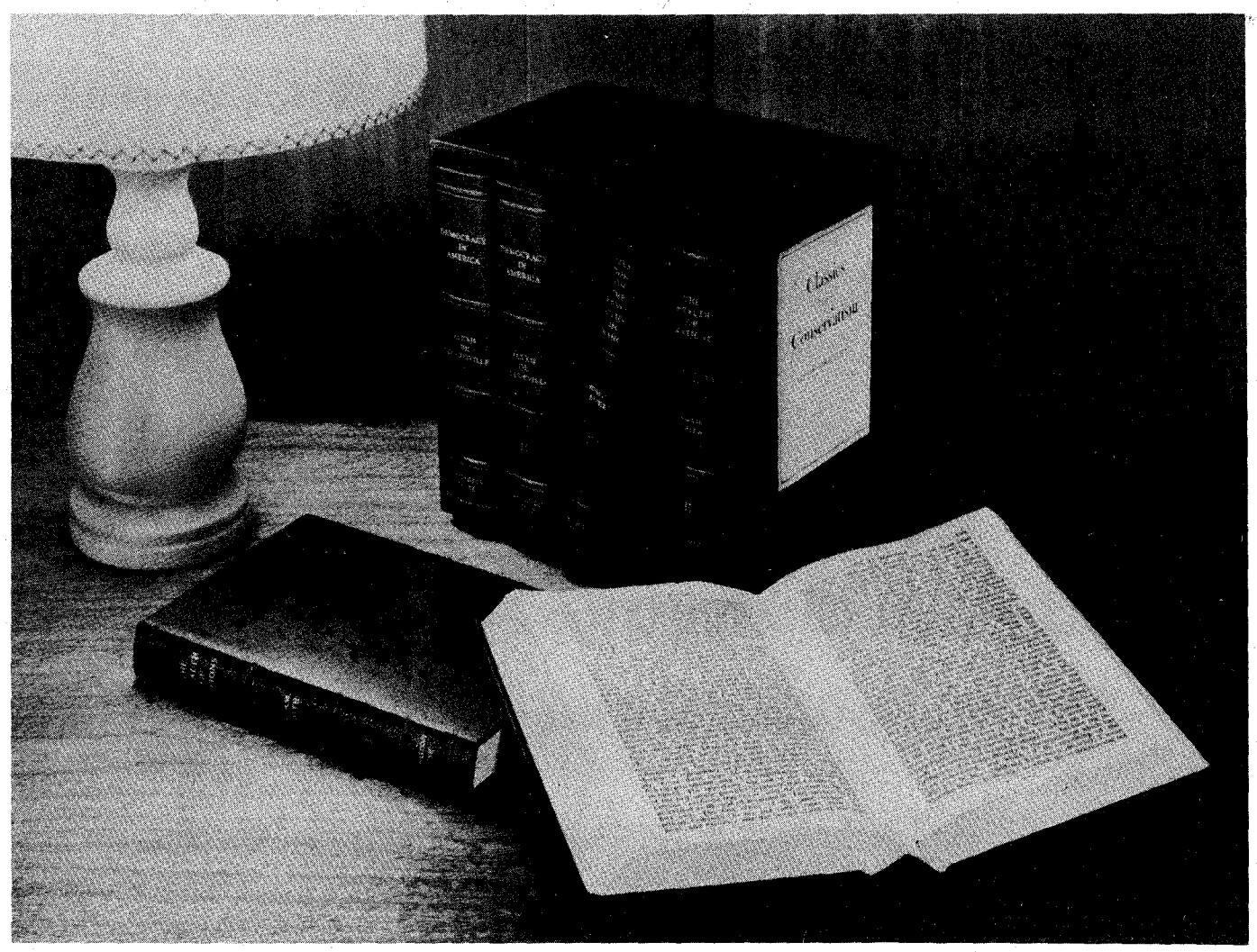

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